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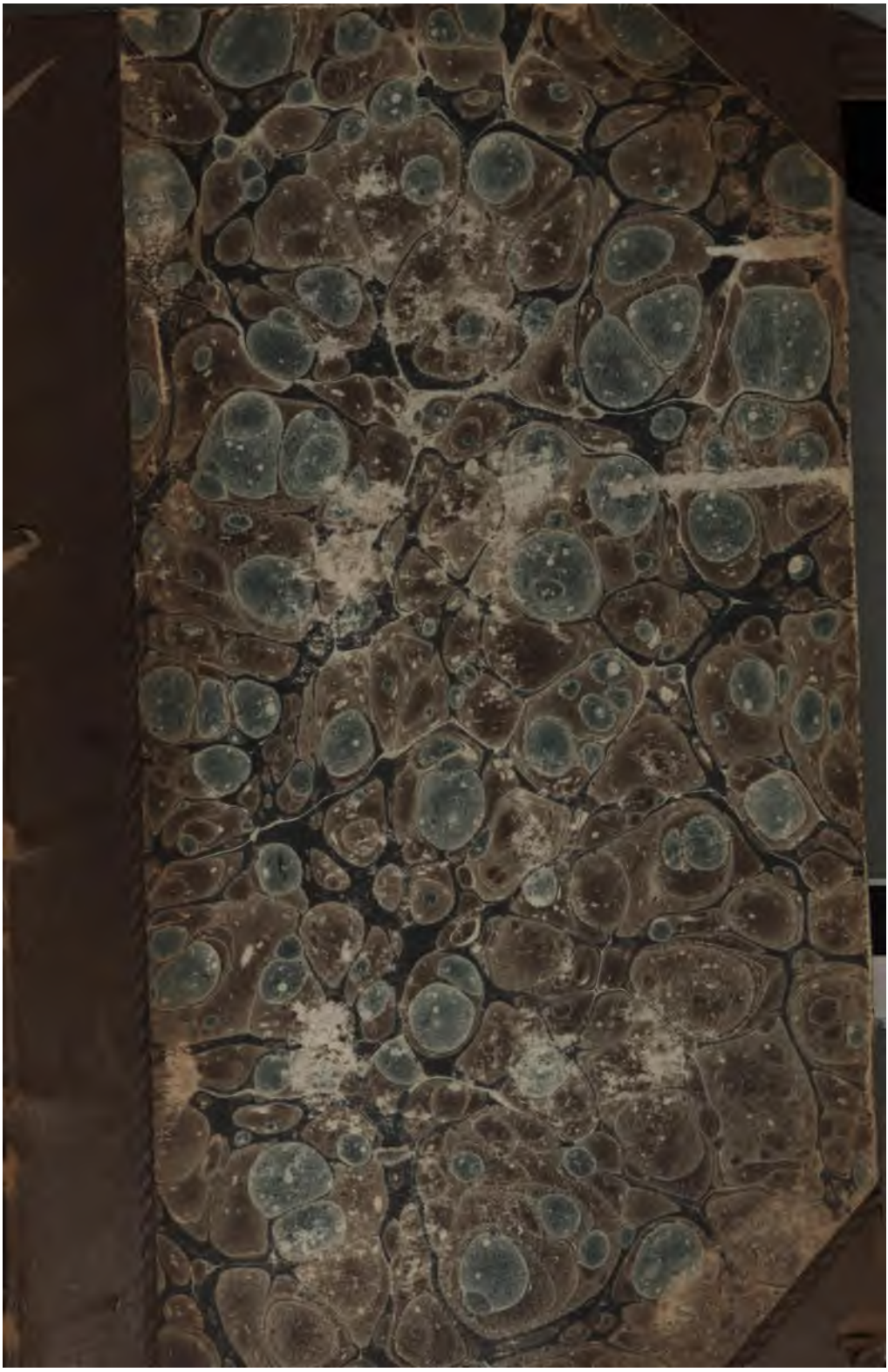

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LIFE AND TRAVELS

OF

JOHN LEDYARD.

SHACKELL AND BAYLIS, JOHNSON'S-COURT.

S SH.1828.

MEMOIRS

OF THE

LIFE AND TRAVELS

OF

JOHN LEDYARD,

FROM HIS

JOURNALS AND CORRESPONDENCE.

BY JARED SPARKS.

LONDON.
HENRY COLBURN, NEW BURLINGTON STREET.

1828.

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PREFACE.

Soon after the death of John Ledyard, the subject of the following Memoir, some progress was made in collecting materials for an account of his life, by Dr. Isaac Ledyard, then of New York. The biographer's task was never begun, however, and the project was abandoned; but the papers procured for the purpose have been preserved by the family of Dr. Ledyard, and have furnished the facts for much the larger portion of the present narrative. Researches have also been made in other quarters, and important original letters obtained. Particular acknowledgment is due to Mr. Henry Seymour, of Hartford, Connecticut, for the aid he has rendered in this respect. All the papers that have been used are entitled to the credit of unquestionable authenticity.

Wherever it could be done, without deviating too much from a regular and proportionate train of events, the traveller has been allowed to speak for himself. His manner of thinking, as well as of acting, was so peculiar,

that a true picture of his mind and genius, his motives and feelings, could with difficulty be exhibited in any other way with so much distinctness, as through the medium of his own language. Free and full selections from his letters and journals are interspersed. His incessant activity, want of leisure, and few opportunities of practising composition as an art, afford an apology for the imperfections of his style, which the candid reader will regard in the favourable light it deserves. His diction is never polished, and his words are not always well chosen; but his ideas are often original, copious, well combined, and forcibly expressed.

In executing this work, the only aim has been to bring together a series of facts, which should do justice to the fame and character of a man, who possessed qualities and performed deeds, that rendered him remarkable, and are worthy of being remembered. If the author has been successful in this attempt, he is rewarded for the labour it has cost him.

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THE

LIFE AND TRAVELS

OF

JOHN LEDYARD.

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JOHN LEDYARD, the celebrated traveller, was born in the year 1751, at Groton, in Connecticut, a small village on the bank of the river Thames, opposite to New London. The place of his birth is but a few hundred yards

from Fort Griswold, so well known in the history of the American revolution.

His grandfather, named also John Ledyard, came in early life to America, and settled at Southold, Long Island, as a small trader in dry goods. He was a native of Bristol, England, and had been bred a merchant in London. Being prosperous in business at Southold, he was soon married to a lady of amiable qualities and good fortune, the daughter of Judge Young, a gentleman of character and influence in that place. From Southold he removed to Groton, where he purchased an estate, and resided many years. He had ten children, and after the death of his wife he removed to Hartford, in Connecticut, and there spent the remainder of his life. For his second wife he married Mrs. Ellery, a respectable widow lady of Boston.

To his eldest son, who had the same name as himself, he gave the estate at Groton. He was a sea captain, engaged in the West India trade, a man of sound understanding, vigorous constitution, and industrious habits. But he died at the age of thirty-five, leaving a widow and four children, three sons and one daughter, to whom the subject of this memoir was the eldest. Colonel William Ledyard, the brave com-

mander in the memorable action of Fort Griswold, who was slain after the capitulation, was the second son.

It thus appears, that John Ledyard, the traveller, was the third of that name in lineal descent. His mother, who was the daughter of Robert Hempsted, of Southold, has been described as a lady of many excellencies of mind and character, beautiful in person, well informed, resolute, generous, amiable, kind, and, above all, eminent for piety and the religious virtues. Such a mother is the best gift of Heaven to a family of helpless young children. In the present instance all her courage and all her strength of character were necessary, to carry her through the duties and trials which devolved upon her. The small estate, which had belonged to her husband in Groton, was, by some strange neglect of her friends, or criminal fraud, never yet explained, taken from her soon after his death. During a visit to Long Island, the deed, which she had left with a confidential person, disappeared. As this deed was the only evidence of her title to the property, and her claim could not be substantiated without it, the whole reverted to its former owner, her husband's father, who was still living. The particulars of this transac-

tion are not now known, nor is it necessary to inquire into them. It is enough to state the fact that such an event occurred, and that the widowed mother with four infant children were thus thrown destitute upon the world. In this condition she and her children repaired to the house of her father in Southold, where they found protection and support. The estate at Groton afterwards fell into the hands of Colonel William Ledyard.

It may be supposed, that misfortune did not weaken her parental solicitude, nor make her neglectful of her high trust. The education of her children was the absorbing object of her thoughts and exertions. Her eldest son was now of an age to receive impressions that would become deeply wrought into his mind, and give a decided bias to his future character. In the marked features of his eventful life, eccentric and extraordinary as it was, full of temptations, crosses and sufferings, may often be traced lineaments of virtues, and good impulses, justly referred to such a source, to the early cares and counsels of a judicious, sensible, and pious mother. Nor were these counsels scattered in a vacant mind, nor these cares wasted on a cold heart; in his severest disappointments and privations, in whatever clime

or among whatever people, whether contending with the fierce snows of Siberia, or the burning sands of Africa, the image of his mother always came with a beam of joy to his soul, and was cherished there with delight. Such of his letters to her, as have been preserved, are written with a tenderness of filial affection that could flow only from an acute sensibility and a good heart.

A few years after leaving Groton, and settling at Southold, Mrs. Ledyard was married to a second husband, Dr. Moor, of the latter place. At this time her son John was taken into the family of his grandfather at Hartford, who, from that period seems to have considered him as wholly under his charge. Tradition tells of peculiarities in his manners and habits at this early age, of acts indicating the bent of his genius, and the romantic disposition that gave celebrity to his after life. But no record of his schoolboy adventures has come down to us, and we are left to conjecture in what manner the wild spirits of a youth like his would exhibit themselves. He attended the grammar school in Hartford, it is to be presumed, with commendable proficiency, since he was at first designed for the profession of the law. Several months were passed by him as a student in the

office of Mr. Thomas Seymour, a respectable lawyer of that place, who had married his aunt. Meantime his grandfather died, and Mr. Seymour became his guardian, and took him to his own house. Whether Ledyard turned his thoughts to the law by his voluntary choice, or by the advice and wishes of his friends, who desired to quiet his temper, by fixing him in some settled pursuit, is not related; most probably the latter, for it was soon manifest, that neither the profound wisdom, the abstruse learning, nor the golden promises of the law, had any charms for him. It was decided without reluctance on his part, therefore, that he should leave the path, which he had found so intricate, and in which he had made so little progress, and enter upon one more congenial to his inclination, and presenting objects more attractive to his taste and fancy.

Here was a difficult point to be determined. The pursuit, which would accord best with the propensities, temperament, and wishes of John Ledyard, and best promote his future usefulness and success, was a thing not to be decided, even at that time of his life, by the common rules of judging in such cases; it was a preliminary, which no one probably would have been more perplexed than himself to establish. Never

was he accustomed to look forward with unwavering predilections, to prepare for contingencies, or to mark out a course from which he would not stray. To be seeking some distant object, imposing and attractive in his own conceptions, and to move towards it on the tide of circumstances, through perils and difficulties, was among the chief pleasures of his existence. On enterprises, in which no obstacles were to be encountered, no chances to be run, no disappointments to be apprehended, no rewards of hazardous adventure to be looked for, he bestowed not a thought; but let a project be started, thickly beset with dangers, and promising success only through toils and sufferings, deeds of courage, and the resolute efforts of an untiring spirit, and not a man would grasp at it so eagerly, or pursue it with so much intenseness of purpose. The wholesome maxim of providing for the morrow rarely found a place in his ethics or his practice; and as he never allowed himself to anticipate misfortunes, so he never took any pains to guard against them.

He was now at the age of nineteen, with very narrow means, few friends, and no definite prospects. In this state of his affairs, as it was necessary for something to be done, he was compelled to look around him, and for a moment

to exercise that foresight, which the tenor of his life proves him to have been so reluctant on most occasions to call to his aid. And, after all, he was more indebted to accident, than to his own deliberations, for the immediate events that awaited him. Dr. Wheelock, the amiable and pious founder of Dartmouth College, had been the intimate friend of his grandfather; and, prompted by the remembrance of this tie, he invited Ledyard to enter his institution, recently established at Hanover, New Hampshire, amidst the forests on the banks of the Connecticut river. This offer was accepted, and in the spring of 1772, he took up his residence at this new seat of learning, with the apparent intention of qualifying himself to become a missionary among the Indians.

His mother's wishes and advice had probably much influence in guiding him to this resolution. In accordance with the religious spirit of that day, she felt a strong compassion for the deplorable state of the Indians, and it was among her earliest and fondest hopes of this her favourite son, that he would be educated as a missionary, and become an approved instrument in the hands of Providence to bring these degraded and suffering heathen to a knowledge of a pure religion, and the blessings of civilized

life. When she saw this door opened for the realizing of her hopes, and her son placed under the charge of the most eminent labourer of his day in the cause of the Indians, her joy was complete

From the first settlement of the country much zeal and much disinterested philanthropy have been exercised, in attempts to convert the Indians to Christianity, and induce them to adopt the manners and participate the comforts of civilized men. Eliot (rightly named the apostle of the Indians), and the Mayhews, are entitled to the praises which succeeding times have bestowed on them; and the efforts of the Society in Great Britain for propagating the Gospel in foreign parts, were prompted by motives of the noblest kind, and were bestowed with an ardour and with sacrifices, that demand a generous tribute from the pen of history, and the grateful remembrance of posterity. For many years little had been done, however, till the popular talents and fervent zeal of David Brainerd caused the journals of his missionary tours to be read throughout the country, his labours applauded, and his success regarded as an evidence of the great work, that might be wrought by the use of proper means.

About this time the Reverend Eleazer Wheelock, who was then a settled clergyman in

Lebanon, Connecticut, formed the scheme of an Indian School, which should have the double object of preparing young preachers for the missionary field, and of educating Indian youth, who should return to their tribes, and become teachers among their own people. Without show or ostentation Dr. Wheelock commenced the school at his own house, and almost at his own charge. He began with two pupils, one of whom was Sampson Occum, an Indian of the Mohegan tribe, afterwards so much celebrated as a preacher, and for his instructions to the Indians. The school gradually increased, and so benevolent an undertaking, pursued with such singleness of purpose, could not fail to attract public notice and approbation. He was aided by contributions from individuals, and the province of Massachusetts voted to pay, for a certain time, the expense of educating six Indian children. Mr. Joshua Moore, who owned lands in Lebanon, gave a portion of them for the benefit of this school, and from this circumstance, the seminary for the education of Indian boys, afterwards attached to Dartmouth College, was called *Moore's Indian School.*

But Dr. Wheelock still found, that pupils from the forest flocked to him faster than he

could provide for them. He thought it now time to adopt the expedient of sending to England, and soliciting assistance from the wealthy and charitable on the other side of the water. For this object Sampson Occum, and another clergyman, were sent out as agents, furnished with testimonials of their character, and certificates of approbation from eminent persons in the colonies. Occum was looked upon as a wonder in England. He was the first Indian preacher from North America, that ever had been seen in the Old World; wherever he went, crowds gathered around him, and it has been the lot of few speakers to address audiences so thronged. A North American Indian in a pulpit, eloquently preaching in the English tongue, was a phenomenon too nearly miraculous to pass unseen or unheard. It was said, moreover, that he exhibited in his person and character, a practical example of what might be done with Indians, when fairly brought under the influence of instruction. All this was highly favourable to the great ends of the mission, and in a few months a subscription was obtained, and money paid to the amount of nearly ten thousand pounds. The king gave two hundred pounds, and several gentlemen one hundred each. The money was deposited

in the hands of trustees in England, and drawn out as occasion required. With this addition to his resources, Dr. Wheelock began to think of enlarging the plan of his school, and removing nearer to the frontiers, both to diminish the expense of living, and to be nearer the Indians. After examining several situations, he selected Hanover, then almost a wilderness, to which place he removed in 1770, cut away the trees, and erected the institution, which he called *Dartmouth College*, in honour of Lord Dartmouth, who had manifested zeal and liberality in collecting the Indian fund in England.

To this college, about two years after it was founded, Ledyard resorted, to prepare himself for the arduous office of a missionary among the Indians. The nature of a missionary's life at that time, and the prospects of the young candidate for such a station, may be fully realized by a perusal of the letters from the Reverend Samuel Kirkland to Dr Wheelock, written previously to the removal from Lebanon. Mr. Kirkland was a graduate of Nassau Hall, in New Jersey, and when qualified for the ministry, he undertook a mission to the Seneca Indians, the most remote and fierce of the confederate nations. He continued there more than a year and a half, and gained the confidence of some of the

chief persons of the tribe; but so general was the aversion to the whites, and to the arts of civilized life, that after a thorough experiment, he despaired of any such success as would be adequate to the sacrifices he must make, and the sufferings he must endure. Leaving the Senecas, therefore, he next proceeded to the Oneidas, with whom he took up a permanent residence. Here poverty, and famine, and wretchedness, stared him in the face.* Nor

* During the first year of his sojourning with his tribe (1767) he wrote to Dr. Wheelock as follows:

"I am distressed to know what to do; the present poverty of these people cries aloud for the charity of God's people; two years ago their corn was cut off by the frost, last year destroyed by the vermin, and worms threaten the destruction of one half of the present crop. Many of them for a month past have eat but once a day, and yet continue to work. From week to week I am obliged to go eeling with the Indians at Oneida Lake for my subsistence. I have feasted and starved with them, as their luck depends on wind and weather. If it should be asked, why they do not support me, the answer is ready, they cannot support themselves. They are now half starved. Some of them have no more than two quarts of corn. I fear my appearing in such a servile, beggarly manner, will very much disserve the design in view; but I must desist, must go down to the lake for eels this day, and return to-morrow to hill the corn and potatoes."

Again, a few weeks afterwards, he wrote, "Through the tender mercies of God, I enjoy some degree of health, amidst all my troubles and distresses, though my strength begins to fail.

were these the worst evils with which he was obliged to contend. The capricious temper and furious passions of the savages, especially when intoxicated, frequently put his life in jeopardy, and kept him in a state of unceasing alarm. All these things were endured by Mr. Kirkland with a christian fortitude, which nothing but a deep sense of the sacred nature of his duties could have enabled him to maintain. He triumphed at last; he lived many years with the Oneidas, and had the satisfaction to see that his toils were not fruitless. The Indians revered him as a father; they had the wisdom to respect and sometimes to follow his counsels; a visible change took place in their character and modes of life; the rough features of the

I cannot subsist long without relief. I have ate no flesh in my own house for near eight weeks. Flour and milk with a few eels have been my living. Such diet, with my hard labour abroad, doth not satisfy nature. My poor people are almost starved to death. I am grieved to the heart for them. There is one family, consisting of four, I must support after my fashion, till squashes come on, or they must perish. They have had nothing these ten days, but what I have given them. They have only each an old blanket not worth sixpence, wherewith to buy anything; and begging here at this season would be a very poor business. I would myself be glad of the opportunity to fall upon my knees for such a bone as I have often seen cast to the dogs."

savage were softened, famine and want chased away, and the comforts of life multiplied. These advantages the sons of the forest saw and felt. No man has ever been more successful than Mr. Kirkland in improving the condition of the Indians, and to the last day of his life he continued to receive from them earnest demonstrations of affection and gratitude.*

To this brief sketch it is hardly necessary to add, that when the revolutionary war came on, a check was given to the designs of the benevolent in behalf of the Indians. They engaged in the strife, which had been kindled by their white neighbours, and the voice of the missionary was silenced by the war whoop, and the din of battle. Many of Dr Wheelock's Indian pupils, having gone through a regular course of instruction, had returned to their homes, and were beginning to scatter the light they had received; but their influence was lost amidst

* In speaking of this subject, the name of John Thornton should not be forgotten. He was a wealthy English gentleman who was active in procuring donations to the Indian fund, and himself a large contributor; he gave Sampson Occum a pension of one hundred dollars a year, sent private aid to Dr. Wheelock and Mr. Kirkland, wrote them frequent letters of encouragement, and was never weary, either by personal exertions or charitable gifts, of promoting the cause of Indian Missions.

the ravages of war. Much was it to be lamented, that the agency of a school, to which Dr Wheelock had devoted the years of a long and toilsome life, and which had awakened a lively interest in the friends of humanity, should be so soon brought to an end, and nothing be seen in the result but a melancholy waste of time, talents, and money.

Such was the condition of a missionary among the Indians, and such the origin and purpose of the institution, to which Ledyard resorted for an education, which should qualify him to enter upon his destined task. Not many memorials remain of his college life. The whole time of his residence at Dartmouth was not more than one year, and during that period he was absent three months and a half, rambling among the Indians. A classmate still living, recollects that he had then some amusing singularities, was cheerful and gay in conversation, winning in his address, and a favourite with his fellow-students. His journey from Hartford to Hanover was performed in a sulky, the first vehicle of the kind that had ever been seen on Dartmouth plain, and it attracted curiosity, not more from this circumstance, than from the old appearance of the equipage. Both the horse and the sulky gave evident tokens

of having known better days; and the dress of their owner was peculiar, bidding equal defiance to symmetry of proportions and the fashion of the times. In addition to the traveller's own weight, this ancient vehicle was burdened with a quantity of calico for curtains, and other articles to assist in theatrical exhibitions, of which he was very fond. From the character of this outfit we may conclude that he did not intend time should pass on heavy wings at Dartmouth. Considering the newness of the country, the want of bridges, and the bad state of the roads, this jaunt, in a crazy sulky, was thought to indicate no feeble spirit of enterprise. The journey might have been performed with much more ease and expedition on horseback, but in that case his theatrical apparatus must have been left behind.

As a scholar at college he was respectable, but not over-diligent; he acquired knowledge with facility, and could make quick progress, when he chose; but he was impatient under discipline, and thought nothing more irksome, than to go by compulsion to a certain place at certain times, and tread from day to day the same dull circle of the chapel, the recitation room, the commons hall, and the study. It is not affirmed, that he ever ventured to set up

any direct hostility to the powers that ruled, but he sometimes demeaned himself in a manner that must take from him the praise of a shining example of willing subordination. In those primitive times the tones of a bell had not been heard in the forests of Dartmouth, and the students were called together by the sound of a conch-shell, which was blown in turn by the freshmen. Ledyard was indignant at being summoned to this duty, and it was his custom to perform it with a reluctance and in a manner corresponding to his sense of the degradation.

The scenic materials, brought with so much pains from Hartford, were not suffered to lie useless. The calico was manufactured into curtains, a stage was fitted up, and plays were acted, in which our hero personated the chief characters. Cato was among the tragedies brought out upon his boards, and in this he acted the part of old Syphax, wearing a long grey beard, and a dress suited to his notion of the costume of a Numidian prince. His tragedies were doubtless comedies to the audience, but they all answered his purpose of amusement, and of introducing a little variety into the sober tenor of a student's life. At this period he was much addicted to reading plays, and

his passion for the drama probably stole away many hours, that might have been more profitably employed in preparing to exhibit himself before his tutors.

He had not been quite four months in college, when he suddenly disappeared without previous notice to his comrades, and apparently without permission from the president. The full extent of his travels during his absence cannot now be known, but he is understood to have wandered to the borders of Canada, and among the Six Nations. It is certain, that he acquired in this excursion a knowledge of Indian manners and Indian language, which was afterwards of essential service to him in his intercourse with savages in various parts of the world. His main object probably was to take a cursory survey of the missionary ground, which he was contemplating as the theatre of his future career: and, judging from what followed, we may suppose that this foretaste put an end to all his anticipations. Nothing more is heard of his missionary projects, although it is not clear at what time he absolutely abandoned them. When three months and a half had expired, he returned to college and resumed his studies.

If his dramatic performances were not revived,

as it would seem they were not, his erratic spirit did not sink into a lethargy for want of expedients to keep it alive. In midwinter, when the ground was covered with deep snow, Ledyard collected a party whom he persuaded to accompany him to the summit of a neighbouring mountain, and there pass the night. Dr. Wheelock consented to the project, as his heart was bent on training up the young men to be missionaries among the Indians, and he was willing they should become inured to hardships, to which a life among savages would frequently expose them. The projector of the expedition took the lead of his volunteers, and conducted them by a pathless route through the thickets of a swamp and forests, till they reached the top of the mountain, just in time to kindle a fire, and arrange their encampment on the snow before it was dark. The night, as may be supposed, was dreary and sleepless to most of the party, and few were they who did not greet the dawn with gladness. Their leader was alert, prompt at his duty, and pleased with his success. The next day they returned home, all perfectly satisfied, unless it were Ledyard, with this single experiment of their hardihood, without being disposed to make another similar trial. He had a pro-

pensity for climbing mountains, as will be seen hereafter, when we meet him at the Sandwich Islands.

After abandoning his missionary schemes he began to grow weary of college, and the more so, probably, as his unsettled habits now and then drew from the president a salutary admonition on the importance of a right use of time, and a regard for the regulations of the establishment. Such hints he conceived to be an indignity, and fancied himself ill treated. That there was value in rules of order and discipline he did not pretend to deny, but seemed at a loss to imagine why they should apply to him. That the whole subject might be put at rest, without involving any puzzling questions of casuistry, he resolved to escape.

On the margin of the Connecticut river, which runs near the college, stood many majestic forest trees, nourished by a rich soil. One of these Ledyard contrived to cut down. He then set himself at work to fashion its trunk into a canoe, and in this labour he was assisted by some of his fellow-students. As the canoe was fifty feet long and three wide, and was to be dug out and constructed by these unskilful workmen, the task was not a trifling one, nor such as could be speedily executed. Opera-

tions were carried on with spirit, however, till Ledyard wounded himself with an axe, and was disabled for several days. When recovered, he applied himself anew to his work; the canoe was finished, launched into the stream, and, by the further aid of his companions, equipped and prepared for a voyage. His wishes were now at their consummation, and, bidding adieu to these haunts of the muses, where he had gained a dubious fame, he set off alone, with a light heart, to explore a river, with the navigation of which he had not the slightest acquaintance. The distance to Hartford was not less than one hundred and forty miles, much of the way was through a wilderness, and in several places there were dangerous falls and rapids.

With a bearskin for a covering, and his canoe well stocked with provisions, he yielded himself to the current, and floated leisurely down the stream, seldom using his paddle, and stopping only in the night for sleep. He told Mr. Jefferson, in Paris, fourteen years afterwards, that he took only two books with him, a Greek Testament, and Ovid, one of which he was deeply engaged in reading when his canoe approached Belows's Falls, where he was suddenly roused by the noise of the waters rushing among

the rocks through the narrow passage. The danger was imminent, as no boat could go down that fall without being instantly dashed in pieces. With difficulty he gained the shore in time to escape such a catastrophe, and through the kind assistance of the people in the neighbourhood, who were astonished at the novelty of such a voyage down the Connecticut, his canoe was drawn by oxen around the fall, and committed again to the water below. From that time, till he arrived at his place of destination, we hear of no accident, although he was carried through several dangerous passes in the river. On a bright spring morning, just as the sun was rising, some of Mr. Seymour's family were standing near his house, on the high bank of the small river that runs through the city of Hartford and empties itself into the Connecticut river, when they espied at some distance an object of unusual appearance moving slowly up the stream. Others were attracted by the singularity of the sight, and all were conjecturing what it could be, till its questionable shape assumed the true and obvious form of a canoe; but by what impulse it was moved forward none could determine. Something was seen in the stern, but apparently without life or motion. At length the canoe touched the shore directly

in front of the house; a person sprang from the stern to a rock in the edge of the water, threw off a bearskin in which he had been enveloped, and behold John Ledyard, in the presence of his uncle and connexions, who were filled with wonder at this sudden apparition, for they had received no intelligence of his intention to leave Dartmouth, but supposed him still there diligently pursuing his studies, and fitting himself to be a missionary among the Indians.

However unimportant this whimsical adventure may have been in its results, or even its objects, it was one of no ordinary peril, and illustrated in a forcible manner the character of the navigator. The voyage was performed in the last part of April or first of May, and of course the river was raised by the recent melting of the snow on the mountains. This circumstance probably rendered the rapids less dangerous, but it may be questioned whether there are many persons at the present day, who would willingly run the same hazard, even if guided by a pilot skilled in the navigation of the river.

We cannot look back to Ledyard, thus launching himself alone in so frail a bark, upon the waters of a river wholly unknown to him, without being reminded of the only similar occur-

rence which has been recorded, the voyage down the river Niger, by Mungo Park; a name standing at the very head of those most renowned for romantic and lofty enterprise. The melancholy fate, it is true, by which he was soon arrested in his noble career, adds greatly to the interest of his situation, when pushing from the shore his little boat Joliba, and causes us to read his last affecting letter to his wife with emotions of sympathy, more intense, if possible, than would be felt, if the tragical issue were not already known. In many points of character there was a strong resemblance between these two distinguished travellers, and they both perished martyrs in the same cause, attempting to explore the hidden regions of Africa.

CHAPTER II.

His singular letters to President Wheelock.—Commences the study of Theology.—His embarrassments on this occasion.—Visits several clergymen on Long Island, and pursues his studies there for a short time.—Proposes teaching a school.—Returns to Connecticut, and meets with disappointment in his hopes of being settled as a clergyman.—Abandons his purpose of studying divinity.—Sails from New London on a voyage to Gibraltar.—Enlists there as a soldier into the regular service.—Released by the solicitation of the captain of the vessel in which he sailed.—Returns home by way of the Barbary Coast and the West Indies.—Resolves to visit England, and seek for his wealthy family connexions in that country.—Sails from New York to Plymouth.—Travels thence to London in extreme poverty.—Realizes none of his expectations.—Enlists in the naval service.—Gains an acquaintance with Captain Cook, and embarks with him on his last voyage round the world, in the capacity of corporal of marines.

As Ledyard left Hanover when Dr. Wheelock was absent, this was probably seized upon by him as a fit opportunity for taking his departure. A few days after his arrival in Hartford, his uncle thought proper to show him some of Dr. Wheelock's letters, in which were very just complaints of his conduct, his disregard of discipline, and particularly his thoughtless waste of the small means he possessed, which his friends flattered themselves might, with good economy, be made to pay the expenses of his education. These letters of the presi-

dent were apparently written, not so much by way of accusation as to vindicate himself from any charge of neglect that might be made against him, on account of the ill success of his efforts to manage a young man, whom he had no other motive for taking under his particular care, than good will for the grandson of his deceased friend, and regard for his family. Ledyard was much incensed at these letters, and replied to them under the impulse of feelings not the most kindly or respectful. From his nature he was extremely impatient of reproach, and ever deemed it an unpardonable offence in any one to question his motives, or insinuate that he could act deliberately and intentionally wrong. His foibles he could bear to have touched with a gentle hand, but no one ventured a suspicion of his integrity, or of the kindness of his heart, with impunity. He often lamented the failure of purposes caused by his fondness for change, and love of adventure; but at no time did he allow himself to think, that he was not pursuing great and worthy objects, and such as would redound to his honour, and the good of mankind. With this disposition, and this confidence in himself, it was natural that he should sometimes regard the opinions which others entertained of his

conduct, with stronger feelings of disapprobation than the merits of the case required. In reading the following extracts from a letter to Dr. Wheelock, these particulars should be kept in mind; and it should moreover be remembered, that, whether right or wrong, he really fancied himself not well treated at Dartmouth.

"When I sit down to write," says he, "I know not where to begin, or where to end, or what to say, especially since I have the contents of two of your letters concerning my affairs. What do I see? Who is this that assumes the port of compassion, kindness, benevolence, charity, and writes as he writes? You begin, Sir, with a surprise that my legacy was so much exhausted. Justly might you, Sir, but not more so than my unfortunate self; and if truth has not turned liar, if any protestations, any declarations of honesty, uprightness, or any thing else can avail, I now, under the most sacred obligations, *bonâ fide*, declare, I was not aware of it; and when I saw the letters and account, I was so much ashamed of my inadvertency, and so justly culpable before you, that I could not compose myself to come before you, and answer for my misconduct. But from that moment, with much anxiety and care, I studied to remedy the matter. This, I

declare, was the honest purpose of my heart; and to make you reparation still is; and, under Heaven, you shall say you are satisfied. Then, Sir, you say, a little after, that you could have no confidence in me, after the character given of me by Mr. Seymour. I am sorry, Sir, you could not.

"I take what you have said, in regard to my pride, very ill-natured, very unkind in you. So far as I know myself, I came to your college under influences of the good kind, whether you, Sir, believe it or not. The acquaintance I have gained there is dearer than I can possibly express. Farewell, dear Dartmouth. Doctor, my heart is as pure as the new fallen snow. Farewell, and may the God of Abraham, Isaac and Jacob, bless you and yours. I am, honoured and reverend Sir, though sorely beset, your obliged and dutiful young servant."

Here end all the particulars which have come to my knowledge respecting Ledyard's college life. He next appears before us in the character of a student in divinity. Within a month after mooring his canoe at the river's bank in Hartford, he is found at Preston, in Connecticut, advising with the Reverend Mr. Hart, a clergyman of that town, on the subject of his theological studies and prospects, and also with

the Reverend Dr. Bellamy, at that time a preacher of wide fame in Connecticut. Both of these clergymen gave him such encouragement that he resolved to apply himself immediately to a preparation for discharging the sacred functions of a divine, and turn the ruffled tenor of his life into the quiet and grateful occupation of a parish minister. He speaks of his anticipations on this occasion with a heartiness and enthusiasm which show, at least, that he imagined himself sincere, and that in the future he fancied he had only to look for the unalloyed blessings of tranquillity, competence, and peace. Such was his haste to realize these precious hopes, that he had not patience to wait the usual term required of young candidates, who had not been graduated at a college. To facilitate the attainment of this end, his advisers recommended that he should go to Long Island, and there pass through his initiatory studies, where, it was said, smaller attainments were required for admission to the desk; and when once admitted, he might return and procure a settlement wherever there should be an opening. With this scheme he was well satisfied; and being furnished by the above gentlemen with suitable letters of recommendation, he mounted his horse and set off for Long Island, with

the same buoyancy of spirits, as when, two months before, he entered his canoe at Dartmouth, and with a purpose much more definite, and higher expectations.

In describing this tour, I shall let him speak in his own language, as contained in a letter to a friend at the time.

"Equipped with my credentials, I embarked for Long Island. The next day I fortunately arrived at Southold, surprised my mother with a visit, and after remaining with her twenty-four hours, I rode to the eastward. With another recommendatory letter from the Reverend Mr. Storrs, I crossed Shelter Island ferry, and thence to East Hampton, where I met with a kind reception from the Reverend Mr. Buell, moderator of the Synod, an influential man, and a glorious preacher. Here I was introduced to a very large library, and, in company with another young candidate, I spent about a month with intense application to study. But this was only an interregnum. Mr. Buell let me know, that the presbytery here proceed in these matters with a perfect extreme of deliberation; and since my circumstances were as they were, he advised me to comply with the dispensations of Providence, and seek a school, and study under some divine. I knew his advice to be as that from a father to a son, and, without a

moment's hesitation, wiping the sweat of care from my brow, I bestrided my Rosinante with a mountain of grief upon my shoulders, but a good letter in my pocket. I jogged on groaning, but never desponding, passed to Bridgetown, thence to Southampton, and through many little villages to Sataucket Quorum, then to Smithtown, Fireplace, Oyster Bay, and so on, visiting and making acquaintance with the clergy wherever I went.

"At length, after a ride of almost one hundred miles, by crossing the island I arrived at Huntingdon, a large town about forty miles from New York, where I visited the minister of the place, old Mr. Prime. After about twelve days' feasting upon his great library, and a quickly made friendship with the ingenious Dr. Prime, formerly of New York, and a fruitless attempt to get a school, I was returning, but stopped to become acquainted with the excellent Irishman, the Reverend Mr. Caldwell, of Elizabeth Town, and the popular Dr. Rogers, of New York; and, after some cordials of consolation and encouragement, they bade me go on, and God speed me. They told me that the sufferings I met with, and the contemptuous ideas the people where I was born and educated had of me, were nothing strange, but reflected honour on me—that a

prophet is hardly accepted in his own country, and the like.

"I returned after a very fatiguing journey to Mr. Buell's, and staid a short time with that hermit, where and with whom I longed to be buried in ease; but I scorned to be a coward, and chose to die in front of battle, if anywhere. We advised together anew, and it was resolved, that since I was so disappointed I should proceed with renewed vigour. Accordingly, with warm letters I came again to the continent, where I arrived in the evening, but thought it most prudent not to stop there; no, not where I was born. I dropped a tear upon the occasion, and rode on toward Preston till eleven at night, when, feeling quite exhausted, for I had been severely sea-sick, I dismounted, left my horse to graze, looked up to heaven, and under its canopy fell asleep. The next morning I rode to my cousin Isaac's house, and being refreshed, I advanced once more to Mr. Hart's, where I was again handsomely and kindly received."

Thus disappointed in his expectations on Long Island, his ardour was somewhat damped, but his resolution remained unshaken. He made up his mind to apply again to his old friends, and seek their sympathy and counsel.

As they had expressed themselves warmly in his favour, and recommended him in flattering terms to the Long Island clergy, he was sanguine in the faith, that they would not, when things came to an extremity, hesitate to do, on their own part, what they had encouraged so earnestly in their brethren. With some confidence, therefore, he repeated his solicitations to Mr. Hart. The result shall likewise be given in his own words.

"We have advised together, and read the aforesaid letters. The amount of all is this, 'Don't be discouraged, Mr. Ledyard; you will think the better of fair weather after this storm. My private sentiments, and my public conduct in your case, are two things. I don't doubt one single instant of your probity and well-meaning. What the world does, I cannot say; but as I officiate in a public character, I must deal with you as so officiating, and for that reason, as well as securing your future tranquillity in the ministry, by making a good beginning, I by all means advise, first, that you write speedily to the Reverend Mr. Whitman, and get him to write to us respecting you what he can, as you have lived long under him; secondly, that you write also to Dartmouth, to procure a regular dismission from the president. When we have

these, we shall proceed with confidence in the face of all men, and not be ashamed to introduce you any where.' Now, Sir, though but very brief, I have given you an exact account of my situation, and the fatigues of my pursuits. You see what bars my sitting directly down.

"As Dartmouth is at such a distance, the clergy here do not insist on a return from that place as soon as from Hartford, but the sooner I have an answer from Mr. Whitman, the sooner will my mind be at rest. There are four ministers that stand ready to advance me the moment this is done, among whom the famous Dr. Bellamy is one. The clergy are very exact in these things, and I have sometimes thought that they meant to keep me humming around them till I was tired, and so get clear of an absolute refusal, or, as Dr. Young expresses it, to—

> " ' Fright me, with terrors of a world unknown,
> From joys of this, to keep them all their own.'

They have found me affliction-proof, if this was their motive; but I plainly see they mean it for my honour—and their own too. The request, in short, which I make of you is, that you will please to wait on Mr. Whitman with my letter,

hurry him for an answer, and send it to me by the earliest opportunity."

That such an answer never came, may be inferred from the fact, that he was never licensed as a preacher, and the judgment of his friends, the clergymen, is not to be so much censured in this, perhaps, as in the unjustifiable encouragement they held out to him. They could not suppose him qualified for the clerical office, with the limited knowledge and experience he possessed, and it was wrong to delude him with the notion, that they would, under any circumstances, publicly approve him as such, merely upon receiving two letters, which at most could testify only to his general character. His attainments were afterwards to be made. He was doubtless importunate, and Mr. Hart and Dr. Bellamy were good-natured; but their kindness would have been better applied, especially on a mind like that of Ledyard's, if they had been more frank and decided in the outset. His sensibility was keenly touched by the disappointment, which, as much as any thing, perhaps, drove him, somewhat disgusted, from prosecuting his theological studies. That he engaged in them with considerable ardour, no one can doubt, after reading his remarks above; that he would have continued long of

the same mind, is not very likely; but it was a mistaken exercise of benevolence to foster hopes which there was no chance of seeing ripened into realities, and thus enticing him into a profession for which he was hardly in any one respect fitted. As a further proof, that he was in earnest at the beginning, it may be mentioned, that he not only applied himself assiduously to study, but was accustomed to declaim in the woods and retired places, that he might discipline his voice, and prepare himself for public speaking.

But his studies in theology were of short duration. He was mortified at the ill success of his application to the clergy for being approved as a candidate, and other circumstances concurred to annoy and wound him. The effect of these on his feelings will appear in the following postscript to a letter, written three months after the one last quoted. "I send you this from Groton, even the little Groton, where it seems I must at last hide my head, and relinquish all the glorious purposes I had in view. 'Tis hard. Do you not wonder that I still live, when there is such inquiry about the strange man in Hartford; when I am the mark of impertinent curiosity; when every thing around me opposes my designs? Do you not wonder that

I have my senses in so great a degree as to let you know that I am as unmoved as my observers and opposers?" These hints are enough to show that obstacles of a serious kind, whether imaginary or real, met him in various quarters, and that a weight of corroding cares hung upon his soul.

But we are not left long to sympathize with him in his griefs. All thoughts of divinity being now abandoned, he is introduced to us a few weeks afterwards in a totally new character, that of a sailor on board a vessel bound to Gibraltar. Captain Deshon, who resided in New London, and sailed from that port, had been his father's friend, and the hero of our narrative now shipped with him for a voyage to the Mediterranean. He entered as a common sailor, but was treated by the captain rather as a friend and associate, than as one of the ordinary crew; and his good humour, suavity of manners, and comparative intelligence, made his company highly acceptable to all on board. The voyage was first to Gibraltar, next to a port on the Barbary coast for taking in a cargo of mules, and thence homeward by way of the West Indies.

One incident only has been transmitted, as worthy of notice, during this voyage. While

the ship was lying at Gibraltar, Ledyard was all at once missing, and it was some time before any thing could be heard of him. There came a rumour at length, that he was among the soldiery in the barracks. A person was sent to make inquiry, who descried him in the ranks, dressed in the British uniform, armed and equipped from head to foot, and carrying himself with a martial air and attitude, which proved that to whatever vocation he might be called, he was not to be outdone by his comrades. Captain Deshon went to his quarters, and remonstrated with him for this strange freak, and urged him to return. He said he enlisted because he was partial to the service, and thought the profession of a soldier well suited to a man of honour and enterprise; but that he would not be obstinate, and was willing to go back, if the captain insisted on it, and would procure his release. When the circumstances were made known to the British commanding officer, he consented to release his new recruit, who returned on board the ship and prosecuted his voyage.

While at Gibraltar he wrote home a very full and amusing account of what he saw in that place, but the letter has been lost.

Within a year from the time of sailing from

New London, the vessel anchored again in the same harbour, and the only profit yielded by the voyage to our young adventurer was a little experience of the hardships of a sailor's life, and knowledge of the mysteries of his profession. However valuable might be this species of gain as stock on hand for future use, it had no power to satisfy immediate want; poverty stared him in the face; and at the age of twenty-two he found himself a solitary wanderer, dependant on the bounty of his friends, without employment or prospects, having tried various pursuits and failed of success in all. Neither his pride, nor his sense of duty, would suffer him to remain in this condition one moment longer, than till he could devise a method of escape from it; yet the peculiar frame of his mind and temper was such, that nothing would have been more idle, either in himself or any other person, than to think of chaining him down to any of the dull courses of life, to which the great mass of mankind are contented to resort, as the means of acquiring a fortune, gaining a competence, or driving want from the door. That he must provide for himself by his own efforts was a proposition too forcibly impressed upon him to be denied; but there seemed not a single propensity of his nature, which inclined him to

direct these efforts in the same manner as other people, or to attain common ends by common means. Poverty and privation were trifles of no weight with him, compared with the irksome necessity of walking in the same path that all the world walked in, and doing things as all the world had done them before. He thought this a very tame pursuit, unworthy of a rational man, whose soul should be fired with a nobler ambition.

Entertaining such views of the objects of human life, it is not surprising that he should feel himself hanging loosely upon society, and should discover that while he continued without purpose and without property, he would exhibit slender claims to the respect of the community, or the confidence of his friends. Their sympathy he might have, but this was a boon which he disdained to accept, when elicited by misfortunes springing from his own improvidence, or by evils which he had power to avoid. That he had no intention of fixing himself down in any steady occupation, is proved by a remark in a letter written from Gibraltar: "I allot to myself," said he, "a seven years' ramble more, although the past has long since wasted the means I possessed." Often had he heard his grandfather descant on his ancestors, and

his wealthy connections in England; and the thought had entered our rambler's head, that one day it might be no unwise thing for him to visit these relatives, and claim alliance with them as a hopeful branch of so worthy a stock. In this stage of his affairs he was convinced that the proper time had come, and he suffered now and then a bright vision to play before his fancy, of the happy change that would ensue by the aid and influence of his newly found friends in England, who would receive with joy so promising a member of their family from America. Elated with dreams like these, he took a hasty leave of the place of his nativity, and the associates of his youth, and made the best of his way to New York, there to seek out a passage to the land of promise.

The first vessel about to sail for England was bound to Plymouth, and in this he obtained a birth, probably on condition of working as a sailor. His trip to the Mediterranean was now to yield its fruits. On his arrival in Plymouth and leaving the vessel, he was reduced to the extreme of want, without money in his pocket, or a single acquaintance to whom he could apply for relief. Thus situated, it behoved him to make haste to London, where he looked for an immediate welcome and a home among the

relations, whose wealth and virtues he had heard so much extolled by his grandfather. As the good fortune of the moment would have it, he fell in with an Irishman, a genuine specimen of the honesty, frankness, and good nature which characterize many of the sons of Erin; whose plight so exactly resembled his own, that they formed a mutual attachment almost as soon as they came in contact with each other. There is a sympathetic power in misfortune, which is heedless of the forms of society, and acts not by any cold rule of calculation. Both the travellers were pedestrians bound to London, both were equally destitute, having nothing wherewith to procure a subsistence. They agreed to take turns in begging on the road. In this manner they travelled harmoniously together, till they reached London without having any reason to complain that Providence had neglected them on the way, or that there was a lack of generous and disinterested feeling in the human kind.

Ledyard's thoughts were now gay, for although in beggary, he fancied that the next step would place him at the summit of his wishes, and open to him wide the door of prosperity. Had he possessed the very lamp of

Aladdin, and been endued with the Dervise's power, he could not have been more confident or happy. To find out his relations was now his only anxiety. By accident he saw the family name on a carriage, and he inquired of the coachman where the owner lived, and what was his occupation. The answer was, that he was a rich merchant, and the place of his residence was pointed out. Our eager traveller hastened to the house, inquired for the occupant, and ascertained that he was not at home. A son was there, however, who listened to his story, but gave him soon to understand that he put no faith in his representations, as he had never heard of any such relations as he told of in America. He observed, moreover, that he resembled one of the family, who had been absent some years in the East Indies, and whom they were extremely anxious to see, assuring him, that if he were really the person, he would be received with open arms. This was a very unlucky interview, for nothing ever raised Ledyard's anger to so high a pitch, as a suspicion, expressed or implied, of his integrity and honest intentions. He seemed from that moment determined to prosecute his inquiry after his family connections no further, but to shun all

that bore the name. The son pressed him to remain till his father should return, but he abruptly left the house, and never went back.

Some time afterwards, when he had gained acquaintances of respectable name in London, to whom he related his story, they went with it to the same gentleman, telling him that the young man seemed honest, and they doubted not the truth of what he had stated. The gentleman refused at first to credit him, unless he would bring some written evidence. Upon further inquiry, however, he was better satisfied, and sent for Ledyard to come to his house. This invitation was declined in no very gracious manner; and when money was sent to him afterwards by the same person, who had heard that he was in distress, he rejected it with great indignation, and commanded the bearer to carry it back to his master, and tell him that he belonged not to the race of the Ledyards. Such was the end of his dreams about his rich relations, and it must be acknowledged, that his own haughty spirit seems to have been the chief enemy to his success. He would probably have called it magnanimous self-respect; and, name it as we will, since it operated wholly against himself, he must cer-

tainly be freed from any charge of mean motives, or selfish ends.

It was just at this time that Captain Cook was making preparation for his third and last voyage round the world. So successful had he been in his former expeditions, and so loud was the sound of his fame, that the whole country was awake to his new undertaking, and the general sensation was such as to inspire adventurous minds with a wish to participate in its glory. Nothing could more exactly accord with the native genius and cherished feelings of Ledyard. As a first step towards becoming connected with this expedition, he enlisted in the marine service, and then by his address he gained an introduction to Captain Cook. It may be presumed, that on an occasion of so much moment to him, he would set himself forward to the best advantage; and he had great power in recommending himself to the favour of others, whenever he chose to put it in action. His manly form, mild but animated and expressive eye, perfect self-possession, a boldness not obtrusive, but showing a consciousness of his proper dignity, an independent spirit, and a glow of enthusiasm giving life to his conversation and his whole deportment—

these were traits which could not escape so discriminating an eye as that of Cook; they formed a rare combination peculiarly suited to the hardships and perils of his daring enterprize. They gained the confidence of the great navigator, who immediately took him into his service, and promoted him to be a corporal of marines.

In this capacity he sailed from England, but tradition reports, on what authority I know not, that he was in due time raised to the post of sergeant. That he should have been willing to undertake so long a voyage, in so humble a station, can be accounted for only from his burning desire to be connected with the expedition. His skill in nautical matters was not yet such as to qualify him for a higher place, even if he had been able to exhibit stronger pretensions through the agency and influence of friends. But he was in the midst of strangers, without any other claims to notice than such as he presented in his own person. These were his only passport to the favour of Cook, and in relying on them no one was ever deceived.

CHAPTER III.

Ledyard's journal of his voyage with Captain Cook.—Testimony in his favour by Captain Burney.—Sails for the Cape of Good Hope.—Thence to Kerguelen's Islands and the south of New Holland.—Character of the people on Van Dieman's Land.—Present state of the colony there. —Arrives in New Zealand.—Account of the people, their manners and peculiarities.—Remarkable contrasts exhibited in their character.— Love adventure between an English sailor and a New Zealand girl.— Omai, the Otaheitan.—Vessels depart from New Zealand, and fall in with newly discovered islands.—Affecting story of three Otaheitans found on one of them.—Arrival at the Friendly Islands.—People of Tongataboo.—Their condition, mode of living, and amusements.— Ledyard passes a night with the King.—Wrestling and other athletic exercises described.—Fireworks exhibited by Cook.—Propensity of the natives to thieving.—An instance in a chief called Feenou, and the extraordinary measures used to recover the stolen property.—Departure from Tongataboo.

The particulars of this voyage have been so often repeated from the official narrative, and are so well known, that any formal attempt to give a connected series of events would be superfluous and without interest. I shall, therefore, chiefly confine myself to such incidents as came under our traveller's observation, and to such remarks and reflections of his own, as indicate his opinions and the character of his mind. He kept a private journal of the whole voyage, but on the return of the expedition, before any person had landed, all papers of this description were taken away, from both officers

and men, by order of the commander, and Ledyard's journal among the rest. This precaution was necessary to prevent an imperfect account of the voyage going abroad, before one could be issued under the sanction of the Admiralty.

Ledyard never recovered his papers; but when he returned to Hartford, more than two years after the termination of the voyage, his friends induced him to write the short account which appeared with his name. To satisfy public curiosity till a complete work could be prepared, a very brief sketch of the voyage, in a single volume, had already been published by authority in England. This volume Ledyard had procured, and he relied on it for dates, distances, the courses of the vessels, and for other particulars serving to revive his recollection of what he had experienced and witnessed. Extracts are made without alteration in two or three instances, and several of the last pages are literally copied. With no other written materials Ledyard produced his manuscript journal, which he sold to Mr. Nathaniel Patten, publisher in Hartford, for twenty guineas. It was printed in a duodecimo volume, containing a chart, and a dedication to Governor Trumbull, expressive of the author's gratitude for the

generosity and kindness which he had received from that veteran patriot.

A narrative thus drawn up must of course be in many respects imperfect: but the narrator makes no high pretensions; he never taxes our faith beyond the obvious bounds of probability, nor calls our attention to hearsay reports and speculations of others. He describes what he saw and heard, and utters his own sentiments. In a few instances he varies from the accounts afterwards published in England; but these commonly relate either to occurrences as to which he had a better opportunity for personal knowledge, or concerning which, for various reasons, it was the policy of the leaders of the expedition to preserve silence. The train of events at the Sandwich Islands, which led to the death of Captain Cook, is narrated by Ledyard in a manner more consistent and natural than appears in any other account of it. The precipitancy of the officers, and of Cook particularly, or at least their want of caution, which was the primary cause of the tragical issue, was kept out of sight by the authorized narrators, and a mystery long hung over that catastrophe, owing to the absence of any obvious coherency between causes and effects. On this point Ledyard's narrative is full and

satisfactory, as will be seen in its proper place.

As a proof of our traveller's activity of mind, and his ardour of inquiry, during this voyage, I shall here quote a passage from a work recently published by Captain James Burney, entitled, *A Chronological History of North-eastern Voyages of Discovery*. The author of this book was a lieutenant under Cook in his two last voyages, son of Dr. Burney, and consequently brother of Madame D'Arblay, the celebrated novelist. He is repeatedly mentioned in Ledyard's journal, and was a very enterprising officer. The estimation in which our hero was held by him will appear by the following extract, as well as by other parts of the work.

"With what education I know not," says Captain Burney, "but with an ardent disposition, Ledyard had a passion for lofty sentiment and description. When corporal of marines on board of the Resolution, after the death of Captain Cook, he proffered his services to Captain Clerke to undertake the office of historiographer to our expedition, and presented a specimen, which described the manners of the Society Islanders, and the kind of life led by our people whilst among them. He was not aware how many candidates he would have

to contend with, if the office to which he aspired had been vacant; perhaps not with fewer than with every one in the two ships who kept journals. Literary ambition and disposition to authorship led us in each ship to set up a weekly paper. When the paper in either ship was ready for delivery, a signal was made, and when answered by a similar signal from the other ship, Captain Cook, if the weather was fine, would good-naturedly let a boat be hoisted out to make the exchange, and he was always glad to read our paper, but never favoured our editors with the contribution of a paragraph. I believe none of these papers have been saved, nor do I remember by what titles we distinguished them. Ledyard's performance was not criticised in our paper, as that would have entitled him to a freedom of controversy not consistent with military subordination. His ideas were thought too sentimental, and his language too florid. No one, however, doubted that his feelings were in accord with his expressions; and the same is to be said of the little which remains of what he has since written, more worthy of being preserved, and which its worthiness will preserve, and particularly of his celebrated commendation of women in his Siberian Tour."

Ledyard's contributions to the paper here mentioned, and his account of the Society Islanders, were probably taken from him with his manuscript journal, as I have found no remnants of them among his papers. His printed Journal contains a graphic and animated description of the Society Islands, but it was evidently written from recollection, like the rest of the volume. This testimony of Captain Burney in favour of his habits of observation, and literary industry, may justly inspire confidence in his writings.

The last expedition under Captain Cook, and the one in which our traveller was engaged, left England on the twelfth of July, 1776. It consisted of two ships, the Resolution and Discovery, the former commanded by Captain Cook, and the latter by Captain Clerke. After touching at Teneriffe, they proceeded to the Cape of Good Hope, and came to anchor in Table Bay, where they were to refit, lay in a new stock of provisions, and prepare for encountering the inconveniences and dangers of a long voyage in the great Southern Ocean, with the certainty that many months must elapse, before they could hope to arrive again in a port of civilized people.

Several days were passed here in getting all

things in readiness; the men of science employed themselves in short excursions into the country; provisions were collected by the proper officers, and the sailors were busy at their daily tasks. Last of all were taken on board various live animals, designed to be left at the islands where they did not exist, making, in connexion with those brought from England, a motley collection of horses, cattle, sheep, goats, hogs, dogs, cats, hares, rabbits, monkeys, ducks, geese, turkeys, and peacocks; thus, says our voyager, "did we resemble the Ark, and appear as though we were going as well to stock, as to discover a new world." Æsop might have conversed for weeks with such a congregated multitude. The monkeys and peacocks seem to have been out of place in this assembly of sober and useful animals, and in the end they did little credit to their community. The monkeys never ceased from mischief, and the gay attire of the peacocks tempted a chief of Tongataboo to steal and carry them off.

On the first of December, Cook departed from the Cape of Good Hope, and proceeded in a south-easterly direction, intending to shape his course around the southern extremity of New Holland. After sailing twenty-five days,

and passing two islands, the tops of which were covered with snow, although it was midsummer in those latitudes, he came to anchor at an island, which had been recently discovered by Kerguelen, a French navigator. A bottle was found suspended by a wire between two rocks, sealed, and containing a piece of parchment, on which was written in French and Latin an account of Kerguelen's voyage and discovery. The island was desolate, without inhabitants, trees, or shrubs. A little grass was obtained for the cattle, and a species of vegetable was found resembling a wild cabbage, but of no value. It rained profusely; streams of fresh water came down from the hills, and the empty casks were replenished. The shore was covered with seals and sea-dogs, the former of which, apparently unconscious of danger, were killed without difficulty, and they afforded a seasonable supply of oil for lamps and other purposes. Vast flocks of birds hovered around; and the penguins, so little did they understand the character of their visitors, would allow themselves to be approached and knocked down with clubs. Man was an enemy, whose sanguinary prowess these tenants of the lonely island had never learnt to fear, and the simple penguin received his death

blow with a composure and unconcern, that would have immortalized a stoic philosopher. The sailors were indulged in celebrating Christmas at Kerguelen's Island, after which the ships sailed, and the next harbour to be gained was Adventure Bay, in Van Diemen's Land; being at the southern limits of New Holland. As no discoveries were to be attempted during this run, they proceeded directly to the point of destination, at which they safely arrived within less than two months after leaving the Cape of Good Hope.

The ships being moored in this bay, called by Tasman, who discovered it, Frederic Henry's Bay, the sailors were sent out in parties to procure wood, water, and grass, all of which existed there in great plenty. No inhabitants appeared, although columns of smoke had been seen here and there, rising through the woods at some distance, affording a sign that people were in the neighbourhood. After a day or two, the natives came down to the beach in small parties, men, women, and children; but they seemed the most wretched of human beings, wearing no clothes, and carrying with them nothing but a rude stick about three feet long, and sharpened at one end. Their skin was black, hair curly, and the beards of the men,

as well as their hair, besmeared with a red oily substance. They were inoffensive, neither manifesting fear, nor offering annoyance to their visitors. When bread was given them, it was thrown away without being tasted, although they were made to understand that it was to be eaten; the same they did with fish, which had been caught in the harbour; but they accepted birds, and intimated a fondness for that kind of food. When a gun was fired, they all ran off like wild deer to the woods, and were seen no more that day; but their fright was not of long duration, for they came again the next morning with as little unconcern as ever. In all respects these people appeared in the lowest stage of human advancement. "They are the only people," says Ledyard, "who are known to go with their persons entirely naked, that have ever yet been discovered. Amidst the most stately groves of wood, they have neither weapons of defence, nor any other species of instruments applicable to the various purposes of life; contiguous to the sea, they have no canoes; and, exposed from the nature of the climate to the inclemency of the seasons, as well as to the annoyances of the beasts of the forest, they have no houses to retire to, but the temporary shelter

of a few pieces of old bark, laid transversely over some small poles. They appear also to be inactive, indolent, and unaffected with the least curiosity." Cook remarked, that the natives here resembled those whom he had seen in his former voyage on the north part of New Holland; and from this and other circumstances it was inferred, that New Holland from that point northward was not divided by any strait. Subsequent discoveries overthrew this conjecture; and it has since been made known, that Van Diemen's Land is an island, separated from New Holland by a passage, or strait, nearly one hundred miles broad, and containing many small islands. It is remarkable, that no resemblance has been discovered between the language of the natives here, and that spoken by the New Hollanders.

On Van Diemen's island are now some of the most flourishing settlements in the British dominions. The wilderness is disappearing before the strong arm of enterprise, and under the hand of culture the hills and valleys yield in abundance all the products common to similar latitudes in the north. Emigrants from England annually flock to that country, invest their capital in lands, and engage in agricultural pursuits. Towns have been built, and com-

merce established. Wheat, maize, wool, cattle and other articles, are largely exported; and there is hardly recorded in history an instance of a new colony having increased so rapidly in numbers and wealth. The wild men, like our North American Indians, retreat, and leave their native soil to a better destiny.

When Cook had provided his ships with wood and water, they were unmoored, and their course directed to New Zealand, where they entered a cove in Queen Charlotte's Sound. Here they remained a month, which afforded time for observations, and for laying in such provisions as were found in the country. New Zealand consists of two islands, which are situate between parallels of latitude on the south of the equator, nearly corresponding with those of the United States on the north, thus having a variable climate, and a soil suited to most of the productions of temperate regions. In the character of the inhabitants are exhibited contrasts never perceived in any other people. They are cannibals, devouring human victims with eagerness and delight, ferocious beyond example in their wars, deadly in their revenge, and insatiable in their thirst for the blood of their enemies; yet they have many of the opposite traits, strong attachment to friends,

with a quick sensibility to their sufferings, and grief inconsolable at the death of a relative; nor are they devoid of generosity, or unsusceptible of the tender passion. Living as they do in a temperate climate, they are an athletic, hardy race of people, whose progress in refinement bears no proportion to their natural powers of body and mind; and thus no proper balance being maintained, the contending elements of human nature, the propensities, passions, and affections, shoot forth into the wildest extremes. How they should differ so entirely from their neighbours, the New Hollanders, who are in nearly the same external condition, is a question upon which the curious may speculate, but will hardly come to a satisfactory conclusion. Plausible reasons may nevertheless be adduced to prove, that the New Zealanders and New Hollanders, notwithstanding their proximity, have originated from stocks widely remote.

While the ships lay at anchor in Queen Charlotte's Sound, a singular love adventure occurred between a young English sailor and a New Zealand girl, the particulars of which are related in Ledyard's journal, as they are also in Cook's Voyages, and which prove the softer sex among savages, even the daughters

of cannibals, to be capable of deep affection and strong attachment. An intimacy was contracted between a sailor and a native girl about fourteen years of age, which grew stronger from day to day, till at length all the time he could spare from his duties was devoted to her society. He furnished her with combs to decorate her hair, and with ornaments for her person; and, to make himself more attractive in her eyes, he submitted to be tattooed according to the custom of the country. His passion was reciprocated in the most ardent and artless manner by the maiden, Gowannahee, whom no conventional rules had taught to conceal the emotions of nature; and although they understood not each other's language, yet love whispered in accents, which they found no difficulty in comprehending. Thus their days and hours flew rapidly away, till the time of separation approached. Gowannahee was much distressed when such an event was hinted at; she would throw her arms around her lover's neck, and insist that he should not go; and such were the alluring arts she used, and such the willingness of the youth to be led by them, that he resolved to desert from the ship and remain behind. He contrived to remove his clothing and other effects on shore, and to escape by

the stratagem of dressing himself in the costume of the natives and mingling in the crowd, just as orders were given to sail, and the New Zealanders were required to leave the ships. When the roll was called to ascertain if all hands were on board, his absence was discovered. The cause was easily apprehended, and some of the officers were disposed to let such an instance of true love have its reward, and not to disturb the enamoured sailor in his dreams of future felicity among the savages of New Zealand. The less sentimental Cook was not moved by these mild counsels; he saw mischief in such a precedent, and he was inflexible; a guard of marines was despatched to search for the truant, and bring him back to duty. He had proceeded to the interior, and secreted himself with his faithful Gowannahee; but his hiding-place was at last discovered. As soon as she perceived their intention to take him away, she was overwhelmed with anguish; and at the parting scene on the beach she yielded herself up to expressions of grief and despair, which the stoutest heart could not witness unmoved. The young sailor was examined and tried for his misdemeanor; but Cook was so much amused with the schemes he had devised for himself, and the picture he

had drawn of his future prospects and greatness, as the husband of Gowannahee, and a chief of renown, that he forbore to aggravate the pains of disappointed hope by any formal punishment.

Recent observations have confirmed all that was said by Cook and his companions of the New Zealanders. English missionaries have for some years past been stationed among them, and possessed the means of becoming perfectly acquainted with their character and habits. They have witnessed their banquets of human flesh, their extremes of passion, their savage barbarity at one time, and their docile, affectionate temper, and keen sensibility at another. War is their highest delight, and in pursuing an enemy, nothing of the human being seems left, except his reason, maddened with revenge, and making him adroit in the work of death. In several instances, boats' and ships' crews have been cut off and devoured by them. Yet these people are superstitious and full of religious fear, imagining themselves to be surrounded by invisible spirits, who have power over them, and who must be conciliated by prayers and ceremonies; who controul the elements, bring rain on the land, and rouse up the winds and waves at sea. The missionaries

have known persons become so frantic, at the death of a near relation, as to commit suicide; and it is a common thing for them to wound and mangle their bodies in a frightful manner on such occasions. When Mr. Marsden made his second missionary tour to these islands, after having been away two or three years, his old acquaintances burst into tears in talking of their friends who had died during his absence. History does not acquaint us with more eminent examples of humanity and pious efforts, of resolution and self-denial, than are manifested in the missionaries, who have forsaken even the common comforts of civilized life, and settled down with a determination to pass their days in this region of moral darkness and human debasement.

While Cook was at New Zealand he was greatly assisted in his intercourse with the people by Omai, a native of the Society Islands, whom he had taken to England on a former voyage, and who was now returning to his country, loaded with presents from the king, and other persons whom curiosity had drawn around him in Great Britain. Although Omai had never before seen a New Zealander, yet the language so much resembled his own, that he could easily converse with the inhabitants. As

he knew English, he thus became a ready interpreter. This was an advantage which Cook had never been able to enjoy on any former occasion.

The vessels weighed anchor and departed from Queen Charlotte's Sound, destined to Otaheite, or, as it is now called, *Tahiti*, the largest of the Society Islands, and about fifteen hundred miles distant from New Zealand. Head winds and boisterous weather forced them out of their course; grass and water for the cattle, as well as fresh provisions for the men, began to fail; and it was thought best to bear away for the Friendly Islands, where a supply could be at once obtained. On this passage they fell in with several islands never before discovered, but their shores were so closely bound with coral reefs as to prevent the approach of the ships. The natives came off in canoes, and brought hogs and fruit, which they gave in exchange for articles of little value.

A small party, consisting of Mr. Burney, three or four other officers, and Omai, landed on one of these islands called Watteeoo, where they were immediately plundered of everything they had about them, and detained through the day. Great crowds gathered around, and annoyed them much, but no violence was offered to

their persons. Here Omai was astonished to find three of his own countrymen. Their story was affecting. Several years before they had set off in a large canoe with a party of about twenty persons, men, women, and children, to pass from Otaheite to Ulietea, a neighbouring island. A storm overtook them, and, after continuing three days, drove them so far out to sea, that they knew not where they were, nor what course to steer. Some of the women and children had perished in the storm, and others were so much exhausted as to survive no longer. The canoe was carried along by the current from day to day; water and provision failed; some of the survivors died of hunger and fatigue; others in the frenzy of despair jumped overboard and were drowned; and after thirteen days, when the canoe was discovered by the natives of Watteeoo, it contained but four men, and these so much reduced by famine and suffering, as to be unconscious of their situation, and scarcely to be distinguished from the dead bodies with which they were promiscuously lying, in the bottom of the boat. They were taken on shore, and by kind treatment they gradually recovered their consciousness and strength. One had since died, but the other three said they were happy in

their adopted country, and declined Omai's invitation to return with him to their native islands, adding that their nearest relatives had perished before their eyes on the disastrous voyage, and it would only be renewing their grief to visit again the places in which they had formerly known them.

The distance between Otaheite and Watteeoo is more than fifteen hundred miles, and this voyage of a canoe affords an important fact in solving the great problem, which has so long perplexed geographers and speculating philosophers, as to the manner in which the innumerable clusters of islands in the Pacific Ocean have been peopled. We here have proof incontestible, that a communication between remote islands was possible, even by such means only as the natives themselves possessed. This single fact, in short, is enough to settle the question.

After touching at Anamoca, and remaining some days at the Happaee Islands, Cook came to anchor in a harbour of Tongataboo, on the ninth of June. Here they staid twenty-six days, collecting a great abundance of provisions, and living on social and friendly terms with the natives. This island is exceedingly fertile, covered with forests and luxuriant herbage.

Agriculture and the arts of life were carried to a much greater extent here than at New Zealand, or indeed most of the South Sea Islands. The kind disposition of the people had given to Tongataboo, and the cluster of islands in its neighbourhood, the name of the Friendly Islands. Later experience has proved, that they had a smaller claim to this distinction than was at first supposed. It is very probable, however, that their acquaintance with civilized men was the principal cause of their apparent change of character. They learnt new vices faster than they acquired a knowledge of their criminality, or the moral power of resisting temptation. Nowhere have the missionaries found their situation more uncomfortable, or their task more difficult, than at the Friendly Islands. When visited by Cook, the people were comparatively amiable, simple, and happy, addicted to the weaknesses, but not to the grosser crimes of the savage state; accustomed to warlike enterprises, but not making them, as did the New Zealanders, the chief source of their pleasure, and the great business of their lives. On the contrary, they had amusements of an innocent kind, as well as curious religious ceremonies, which occupied much of their time, and were suited to a state of peace and tranquillity.

These were often exhibited, and obviously as much with a desire to please their visitants, as to show off their skill to advantage, or promote their own gratification. The king, or great chief, whose name was Poulaho, treated Cook with marked respect, and caused all his people to do the same, as far as he could exercise his power to that end. Ledyard describes in an agreeable manner the scenes that came under his observation at Tongataboo. The day after landing it was his duty to be on shore, and he passed the night with Poulaho, who had declined Cook's invitation to go with him on board.

"It was just dusk," says Ledyard, "when they parted, and as I had been present during a part of this first interview, and was detained on shore, I was glad he did not go off, and asked him to my tent; but Poulaho chose rather to have me go with him to his house, where we went and sat down together without the entrance. We had been here but a few minutes, before one of the natives advanced through the grove to the skirts of the green, and there halted. Poulaho observed him, and told me he wanted him, upon which I beckoned to the Indian, and he came to us. When he approached Poulaho, he squatted down upon his

hams, and put his forehead to the sole of Poulaho's foot, and then received some directions from him, and went away, and returned again very soon with some baked yams and fish, rolled up in fresh plantain leaves, and deposited in a little basket made of palm leaves, and a large cocoa-nut shell full of clean fresh water, and a smaller one of salt water. These he set down, and went and brought a mess of the same kind, and set them down by me. Poulaho then desired I would eat; but preferring salt, which I had in the tent, to the sea water which they used, I called one of the guard, and had some of that brought me to eat with my fish, which was really most delightfully dressed, and of which I ate very heartily.

"Their animal and vegetable food is dressed in the same manner here, as at the southern and northern tropical islands throughout these seas, being all baked among hot stones laid in a hole, and covered over first with leaves and then with mould. Poulaho was fed by the chief who waited upon him, both with victuals and drink. After he had finished, the remains were carried away by the chief in waiting, who returned soon after with two large separate rolls of cloth, and two little low wooden stools. The cloth was for a covering while

asleep, and the stools to raise and rest the head on, as we do on a pillow. These were left within the house, or rather under the roof, one side being open. The floor within was composed of coarse dry grass, leaves, and flowers, over which were spread large well wrought mats. On this Poulaho and I removed and sat down, while the chief unrolled, and spread out the cloth, after which he retired, and in a few minutes there appeared a fine young girl about seventeen years of age, who, approaching Poulaho, stooped and kissed his great toe, and then retired, and sat down in an opposite part of the house. It was now about nine o'clock, and a bright moonshine; the sky was serene, and the winds hushed. Suddenly I heard a number of their flutes, beginning nearly at the same time, burst from every quarter of the surrounding grove; and whether this was meant as an exhilarating serenade, or a soothing soporific to the great Poulaho, I cannot tell. Immediately on hearing the music he took me by the hand, intimating that he was going to sleep, and showing me the other cloth, which was spread nearly beside him, and the pillow, invited me to use it."

After describing the occupations of the natives, their traffic, articles of trade, and some

of their customs, he speaks of their amusements.

"The markets being over, there were generally an hour or two, and those before dark, in which the natives, to entertain us and exhibit their own accomplishments, used to form matches at wrestling, boxing, and other athletic exercises, of which they were very vain, and in which they were by far the best accomplished of all the people we ever visited before or after. These exercises were always performed on the green within the circle, and among the Indian spectators there were a certain number of elderly men, who presided over and regulated the exercise. When one of the wrestlers, or combatants, was fairly excelled, they signified it by a short sonorous sentence, which they sung, expressing that he was fallen, fairly fallen, or that he was fairly conquered, and that the victor kept the field. From this there was no appeal, nor indeed did they seem to want it, for among their roughest exercises I never saw any of them choleric, envious, malicious, or revengeful; but preserving their tempers, or being less irascible than we generally are, they quit the stage with the same good nature with which they entered it.

"When they wrestle, they seize each other

by a strong plaited girdle, made of the fibres of the cocoa-nut, and worn round the waist for that purpose; and they describe nearly the same operations in this contest that we do in what we call hugging or scuffling. In boxing their manœuvres are different. They had both hands clenched, and bound round separately with small cords, which perhaps was intended to prevent their clenching each other when closely engaged, thus preventing foul play; or it might be to preserve the joints of the fingers, and especially the thumb, from being dislocated. Perhaps the best general idea I can convey of their attitudes in this exercise, is to compare them with those of the ancient gladiators of Rome, which they much resembled.

"They are very expert and intrepid in these performances, but as they are mere friendly efforts of skill and prowess, they continue no longer than till the purposes of such a contention are answered; and the combatant, as soon as he finds that he shall be conquered, is seldom such an obstinate fool, as to be beat out of his senses to be made sensible he is so, but retires most commonly with a whole skin. But the exercise of the club is not so, and as these contests are very severe, and even dangerous, they are seldom performed. We never saw

but one instance of it, but it was a most capital one, as the performers were capital characters; and though we expected the exhibition to be very short, yet it lasted nearly twenty minutes, protracted by the skill of the combatants in avoiding each other's blows, some of which were no less violent than artful. After being pretty well buffeted about the body, a fortuitous blow upon the head of one decided the matter, and the conquered was carried off, while the victor, elated with success, stood and enjoyed the subsequent shouts of praise, that proceeded from the spectators. When these shouts ended, the young women round the circle rose, and sang, and danced a short kind of interlude in celebration of the hero."

Not to be outdone by the monarch of the Friendly Isles in politeness and attempts to please, Cook got up a brilliant exhibition of fireworks, with which Poulaho and all his people were greatly astonished and delighted. The mathematical and astronomical instruments, which had been fitted up in tents on shore, were also matters of curiosity and wonder. The natives were particularly amused, likewise, with the horses, cows, sheep, goats, and other animals, which Ledyard said, on leaving the Cape of Good Hope, made the ship resemble

Noah's ark. As dogs and hogs were the only animals found on the islands, and of course the only ones ever before seen by the inhabitants, they seemed completely puzzled to know what to make of these new orders of the creation. The sheep and goats they called birds; but the horses, cows, cats, and rabbits, were nondescripts for which no place had been assigned in their scientific arrangement.

Thus agreeably passed the days at Tongataboo; the good-natured people omitted nothing which was in their power, to gratify their visitors, whether by supplying them with the best provisions the islands afforded, or by amusing them with innocent pastimes. One thing only marred the harmony of their intercourse. These simple, hospitable people, each and all, from the highest rank downwards, were incorrigible thieves; that is, they made no scruple to take whatever they could lay their fingers upon, and appropriate it to their own use. This habit was prevalent throughout all the South Sea Islands, but nowhere had the voyagers been so much annoyed by it, as in these islands of friendship. Cook resorted to summary and severe measures to teach the natives what he thought of this vice, and sometimes inflicted punishments little

suited to the moral light of the people whom he arraigned as transgressors. It does not appear that pilfering was deemed a crime, or a disreputable offence, and indeed the historian of Cook's Voyages declares, that "the inhabitants of the South Sea Islands in their petty larcenies were actuated by a childish disposition, rather than a thievish one." In this view of the subject, it can hardly be imagined that there was any natural right in the civilized visitors to inflict harsh punishment on their ignorant and kind entertainers: on the contrary, it was cruel and unjust; it was the last way to gain friends, or to inspire the natives with a love of the moral code. Ledyard speaks with warmth of some examples of this kind, which came under his notice, but adds, alluding to Cook, "It must be remembered that the ability of performing the important errand before us, depended very much, if not entirely, upon the precarious supplies we might procure from these and other such islands, and he must of consequence be very anxious and solicitous in this concernment; but, perhaps no consideration will excuse the severity which he sometime used towards the natives on these occasions; and he would probably have done better to consider, that the full exertion of extreme power

is an argument of extreme weakness; and nature seemed to inform the insulted natives of the truth of this maxim, for before we quitted Tongataboo, we could not go anywhere into the country upon business or pleasure without danger."

One instance is related with more particularity than others, as it occurred in high life, and was made a state concern. In Tongataboo was a chief called Feenou, a man of fine personal appearance, graceful and commanding in his carriage, frank in his disposition, generous, enterprising, and bold; in short, he was the idol of the people, and throughout all the isles there was no chief whose renown was so loudly and so heartily trumpeted as that of Feenou. He was the man whom the great Poulaho delighted to honour above others. When the strangers came, Feenou was their early and devoted friend, and his attachment and kind offices held out to the last. "If they lost any goods, and these were carried either to the interior of Tongataboo, or to any of the detached islands, their only confidential resource was Feenou; or if any other emergency required despatch, policy, courage, or force, Feenou was the man to advise and act." Such were the character and deeds of this chief. He could subdue the hearts of men, and the strength of

an enemy, but he could not conquer the tyranny of habit. From day to day he had gazed with inward raptures upon the gaudy plumage of the peacocks, which had been brought with much care and trouble from England; their charms were irresistible; just as the vessels were about to sail, the peacocks disappeared; Feenou was also out of the way; he had stolen the birds, and concealed himself with his booty.

The affront was resented by Cook in an extraordinary manner. He immediately ordered Poulaho, the king, to be arrested, and placed a guard over him in his own house, giving him to understand that he should be held a prisoner till the peacocks were restored. This was a novel mode of making a king answerable for the acts of his subjects. Much disorder ensued; the chiefs felt the insult offered to their sovereign, and began to assume a warlike attitude, and threaten the guard; but Poulaho advised them to desist, and preserve peace till a reconciliation should be attempted; and when Cook appeared, the king saluted him with dignity and respect, but with a manifest sense of the injustice that was practised upon him. His coolness and counsel kept the people from offering violence to the guards, who surrounded him with fixed bayonets; and the next day

Feenou himself came forward, entreated for the release of the king, and assured Cook that the birds should be returned to him before sunset. Thus the affair was happily terminated, leaving a much stronger proof of the firmness than the prudence of the great navigator. The reconciliation was followed by magnificent presents of red feathers and provisions, on the part of Feenou, and others equally valuable from Cook. He gave Poulaho some of the domestic animals which he had brought from England for the purpose of distributing among the islands. All parties separated mutually satisfied with each other, and with as warm tokens of friendship from the natives, as could be expected after the recent transactions.

CHAPTER IV.

Society Islands.—Otaheite.—Ledyard's description of the language, customs, religion, laws, and government of the natives.—Their probable faith in the doctrine of transmigration.—Remarks on his mode of reasoning on this subject.—His theory of the origin of customs and superstitions.—Notions of a Deity among the Otaheitans.—Conduct of Omai.—Difficulties attending the efforts to civilize savages.—Sandwich Islands discovered.—The vessels proceed to the American continent, and anchor in Nootka Sound.—Appearance and manners of the people.—Indian wampum.—The abundance of furs.—Cannibalism.—Curious digression on the origin and practice of sacrifices.—Captain Cook passes Behring's Straits, explores the northern ocean till stopped by the ice, and returns to the Island of Onalaska.—Sends Ledyard with two Indians in search of a Russian establishment on the coast.—His account of this adventure.—In what manner he was transported in a canoe.—Village of Russians and Indians.—Hot baths.—Their habitations and manner of living described.—Behring's vessel.—Ledyard returns to the ships, and reports to Captain Cook.—Expedition returns to the Sandwich Islands.

We shall next join our navigators at the Society Islands, where they arrived on the fourteenth of August. Many of the officers and seamen, who had been there on a former voyage, were recognised by the natives, and received with great cordiality; the day of landing at Otaheite was given up to festivity and mutual congratulations between old acquaintances.

The occurrences during their stay at these Islands, are related in a lively manner by Led-

yard. He describes the natural productions of the Society Islands, the appearance and condition of the natives, their food, clothing, and houses, their language, customs, religion, laws, and government. From the minuteness with which he speaks on most of these subjects, it is evident that the principal points in the essay mentioned by Mr. Burney were still fresh in his memory, and moreover that he was a close and inquisitive observer of every thing which came within his reach or knowledge.

"The inhabitants," he remarks, "are of the largest size of Europeans; the men are tall, strong, well limbed, and fairly shaped. The women of superior rank among them are also in general above our middle size, but those of the inferior rank are far below it; some of them are quite small. Their complexion is a clear olive, or brunette, and the whole contour of the face quite handsome, except the nose, which is generally a little inclined to be flat. Their hair is black and coarse; the men have beards, but pluck the greatest part of them out; they are vigorous, easy, graceful, and liberal in their deportment, and of a courteous, hospitable disposition, but shrewd and artful. The women cut their hair short, and the men wear theirs long. They have a custom of staining their

bodies in a manner that is universal among all those Islands, and is called by them *tattooing;* in doing this they prick the skin with an instrument of small sharp bones, which they dip as occasion requires into a black composition of coal dust and water, which leaves an indelible stain. The operation is painful, and it is some days before the wound is well.

"Their clothing consists of a cloth made of the inner rind of the bark of three different kinds of trees, the Chinese paper mulberry, the bread-fruit tree, and a kind of wild fig tree, which, in the formation of different kinds of cloth, are differently disposed of by using one singly, or any two, or all of them together. The principal excellences of this cloth are its coolness and softness; its defects are its being pervious to water and easily torn. They sometimes, especially if it is wet, wear fine mats, of which they have a great variety.

"Their amusements are music, dancing, wrestling, and boxing, all which are like those of Tongataboo.

"As to the religion, laws, and government of these people, much has been said about them by former voyagers; and in truth too much, especially about their religion, which they are not fond of discovering, and therefore,

when urged on the matter, they have often, rather than displease those who made the inquiry, told not only different accounts, but such as were utterly inconsistent with what we knew to be true from ocular demonstration. They assured us, for instance, that they never sacrificed human bodies, but an accident happened, that contradicted it, and gave us the full proof of it, the operation and design.

"They believe in the immortality of the soul, at least its existence in a future state; but how it exists, whether as a mere spiritual substance, or whether it is united again to a corporeal or material form, and what form, is uncertain. It is supposed they have notions of transmigration. Our conjectures originate from observing that universal, constant, and uniform regard, which they pay in a greater or less degree to every species of subordinate beings, even to the minutest insect, and the most insignificant reptile. This was never esteemed a philosophical sentiment, nor a mere dictate of nature, because the people who entertain these notions are not led to embrace them by the unbiassed impulses of nature, which would lead them to regard their own species more than any other. It must, therefore, be from other motives, and I know of none so

probable as religion or superstition, which are indeed synonymous terms when applied to these people; besides, it is well known to have been a religious sentiment among many other people, both ancient and modern, who have claimed the appellation of civilized. It exists now among several Asiatic sects, both east and west of the Ganges, particularly among the Banians, who abstain from all animal food. It is well known, that some tribes in Asia have built hospitals for certain species of subordinate beings."

The author's reasoning here about the doctrine of transmigration is somewhat curious, but his inference that the natives believed in it, because they showed a regard for inferior animals, is at least questionable. He goes on to enforce his opinion, however, by remarking that they eat little animal food, and abstain from the flesh of some kinds of birds altogether. In killing animals, also, they are careful to inflict as little pain as possible; they are extremely indulgent to rats, with which they are much infested, and rarely do them any harm; when stung by flies or musquitoes, they only frighten them away. This lenity towards animals, however commendable in those who practise it, will hardly prove their faith in the

doctrine of transmigration, or that these savages refrained from crushing a fly or musquito, because they apprehended a spirit, which had once animated a human form, had been doomed to an existence in one of these insects. It is a favorite theory of the author, at which he hints on several occasions, that such habits and superstitions of a people as are woven into their character and history, must have come down from some very remote time, and not have sprung out of casual or local circumstances, of which any knowledge exists. He says, "all the customs of mankind appear to be derivative and traditionary." How far he would carry back the tradition, he does not add; but this doctrine of transmigration he traces to Asia, and supposes it to have found its way to the islands of the Pacific with the first settlers, who came from that quarter, and to have kept its place through all subsequent changes among the superstitions of their descendants.

"Their notions of a Deity," he continues, "and the speculative parts of their religion, are involved even among themselves in mystery, and perplexed with inconsistencies; and their priests, who alone pretend to be informed of it, have, by their own industrious fabrications and the addition of its traditionary fables, shut

themselves up in endless mazes of inextricable labyrinths. None of them act alike in their ceremonies, and none of them narrate alike when inquired of concerning the matter; therefore, what they conceive respecting a God we cannot tell; though we conclude upon the whole that they worship one great Supreme, the author and governor of all things; but there seems to be such a string of subordinate gods intervening between him and the least of those, and the characters of the whole so contrasting, whimsical, absurd, and ridiculous, that their mythology is very droll, and represents the best of the group no better than a harlequin.

"The government of Otaheite resembles the early condition of every government, which, in an unimproved and unrefined state, is ever a kind of feudal system of subordination, securing licentious liberty to a few, and a dependant servility to the rest."

Having above spoken of Omai, the native of the Society Islands, whom Cook had taken with him to England on a former voyage, and who had received every possible advantage for becoming acquainted with the habits, arts, and enjoyments of civilized life, the reader may be curious to know in what manner he demeaned

himself when he returned to his native country, and what were the prospects of his being benefited by his acquisitions and experience. In this case, as in many others, it will be seen, that the attempt to enlighten the ignorance and change the character of the savage was unsuccessful. "On landing at Otaheite," says Ledyard, "we had a number of visitors, among whom was a sister of Omai, who came to welcome her brother to his native country again, but the behaviour of Omai on that occasion was consonant to his proud, empty, ambitious heart, and he refused at first to own her for his sister; the reason of which was, her being a poor, obscure girl, and as he expected to be nothing but king, the connection would disgrace him." In a few days the vessels sailed over to Hueheine, the native island of Omai, at which he was finally to be left. Here a small house was built for him, in which his effects were deposited. About an acre of ground adjoining the house was purchased of the natives, surrounded with a ditch, and converted into a garden, in which various European seeds were planted. Several of the live animals brought from England, were also put on shore, and left under his charge.

"When ready to sail, Captain Cook made an

entertainment on behalf of Omai, at his little house; and in order to recommend him still further to the chiefs of the island, he invited them also. Every body enjoyed himself but Omai, who became more dejected as the time of his taking leave of us for ever approached; and when he came finally to bid adieu, the scene was very affecting to the whole company. It is certainly to be regretted, that Omai will never be of any service to his country by his travels, but perhaps will render his countrymen, and himself too, the more unhappy."

The subsequent fate of Omai is not known, but had his knowledge, his efforts, or his example produced any valuable effects in his native island, the monuments of them would have been obvious to future voyagers. There has never been a more idle scheme of philanthropy, than that of converting a savage into a civilized man. No one attempt, it is believed, has ever been successful. Even Sampson Occum, before his death, relapsed into some of the worst habits of his tribe, and no North American Indian of unmixed blood, whatever pains may have been taken with his education, has been known to adopt the manners of civilized men, or to pass his life among them. The reason is sufficiently plain, without resorting to

natural instinct. In a civilized community, a man who has been a savage, must always feel himself inferior to those around him; this feeling will drive him to his native woods, where he can claim and maintain an equality with his associates. This is the universal sentiment of nature, and none but a slave can be without it. When a man lives with savages, he will assume the habits of a savage, the light of education will be extinguished, and his mind and his moral sense will soon adopt themselves to his condition.

The vessels at length departed from the Society Islands, and took a northerly course, with the intention of falling in with the coast of America, at about the fortieth degree of north latitude. After sailing six weeks, without approaching any other land than an uninhabited island, consisting chiefly of a bed of coral rocks, and abounding in turtle of a fine quality, the mariners were greeted with a view of high land at a distance, which was not marked on the charts. It proved to be a new discovery, and was one of the group of islands, named afterwards by Cook the *Sandwich Islands*. A safe harbour was found and entered, in which the vessels were no sooner anchored, than they were surrounded by canoes

filled with the natives, who regarded the new comers with inexpressible surprise, though not with apparent fear. A source of astonishment to the navigators was, that the people should speak a language differing but little from those of the Society Islands and New Zealand, which were distant, the first nearly three thousand, and the other four thousand miles, with an ocean intervening. The wide extent of the Polynesian dialects was not then known. Although very shy at first, the natives were not long in summoning courage to go on board. They looked with wonder upon the objects around them, examined the hands, faces, and clothes of the sailors, and inquired if they could eat. When satisfied on this head, by seeing them devour dry biscuit, the simple islanders were eager to show their hospitality, and presented them with pigs, yams, sweet potatoes, and plantains, thus verifying a declaration of Ledyard on another occasion, that "all uncivilized men are hospitable." A friendly intercourse was established, and provisions were given in barter for old iron, nails, and other articles of little intrinsic value, but important to the natives.

Cook remained ten days only at these islands, and then sailed for the American coast, intend-

ing to visit them again on his return from the north in the following winter. It was now the first of February, and no time was to be lost in hastening his voyage to the northward, for his plan was to proceed along the American shore, and run through Bering's Strait, so as to explore the polar latitudes at the proper season. Without any remarkable accident or adventure he reached the continent, and anchored in Nootka Sound. This is an extraordinary bay, extending several leagues into the country, and completely land-locked. On the first night the ships were anchored in water nearly five hundred feet deep, and in other parts it was more than six hundred. A convenient harbour was found the next day. The bay is surrounded by lofty hills, and the shore is so bold, that the ships were secured by ropes fastened to trees.

Our wanderer was now on his native continent, and although more than three thousand miles from the place of his birth, yet he could not resist the sensations kindled by the remembrance of home. "All the deep emotions," says he, "incident to natural attachments, and early prejudices, played around my heart, and I indulged them." The feeling was spontaneous and genuine. Ledyard saw in the inhabitants,

likewise, indications of an affinity between them and the Indians whom he had visited in his native country. In all his travels he manifests a remarkable acuteness in observing the human character in its various gradations of improvement, and particularly in detecting resemblances between uncivilized people of different regions. Whether among the South Sea Islands, on the Northwest Coast of America, in Kamtschatka, Siberia, or Egypt, remarks of this sort escape him continually. He seems to have had in his mind a scale upon which he graduated the nations of men, and which he studied so carefully, that he could assign to each its proper place. His observations were not restricted to one class of qualities or circumstances, but they extended to all that constitute individual and national peculiarities, to the intellect, physical characteristics, modes of living, dress, warlike implements, habitations, furniture, government, religion, social state, and domestic habits. Nor was he merely observing and inquisitive; he was addicted to thought and reflection. His theories were raised on the basis of facts; his results were sustained by reasons, satisfactory at least to himself. He was fond of pursuing analogies, especially in regard to the origin,

customs, and characters of the various races of men; and here the wide compass of his inquiries supplied him with so many materials not accessible to others, that he sometimes came to conclusions less obvious to those who follow him, than they were to his own mind. His description of the people of Nootka is here inserted.

"I had no sooner beheld these Americans, than I set them down for the same kind of people, that inhabit the opposite side of the continent. They are rather above the middle stature, copper-coloured, and of an athletic make. They have long black hair, which they generally wear in a club on the top of the head; they fill it, when dressed, with oil, paint, and the down of birds. They also paint their faces with red, blue, and white colours, but from whence they had them, or how they were prepared, they would not inform us, nor could we tell. Their clothing generally consists of skins, but they have two other sorts of garments; the one is made of the inner rind of some sort of bark twisted and united together like the woof of our coarse cloths; the other very strongly resembles the New Zealand toga, and is also principally made with the hair of their dogs,

which are mostly white and of the domestic kind. Upon this garment is displayed, very well executed, the manner of their catching the whale; we saw nothing so well done by a savage in our travels. Their garments of all kinds are worn mantlewise, and the borders of them are fringed, or terminated with some particular kind of ornament. Their richest skins, when converted to garments, are edged with a great curiosity. This is nothing less than the very species of *wampum*, so well known on the opposite side of the continent. It is identically the same; and this wampum was not only found among all the aborigines we saw on this side of the continent, but even exists unmutilated on the opposite coasts of North Asia. We saw them make use of no coverings to their feet or legs, and it was seldom they covered their heads. When they did, it was with a kind of a basket covering, made after the manner and form of the Chinese and Chinese Tartars' hats. Their language is very guttural, and if it were possible to reduce it to our orthography, it would very much abound with consonants. In their manners they resemble the other aborigines of North America. They are bold and ferocious, sly and reserved, not easily

provoked, but revengeful; we saw no signs of religion or worship among them, and if they sacrifice, it is to the god of liberty."

The fact here stated, respecting wampum, is curious, and confirms a remark of the author, that the diffusive power of commerce extended at that time throughout the whole continent of North America. "Nothing," says he, "can impede the progress of commerce among the uninformed part of mankind, but an intervention of too remote a communication by water." Civilized nations may impose restrictions, or adopt regulations, under the name of protecting laws, and thereby embarrass commerce, but when left free to move in its own channels, there is no obscure nook of human society which it will not pervade. Ledyard discovered, among the natives, on the Northwest coast, copper bracelets and knives, which could only have come to them across the continent from Hudson's Bay. Clapperton found articles of English manufacture in the heart of Africa; and the Russian embassy to Bukaria met with others from the same source in central Asia. The wampum of the North American Indians has been an article of traffic, and probably passed as a kind of currency among all the tribes, from time immemorial.

Ledyard's views of the commercial resources of Nootka Sound, and other parts of the North-west Coast, must not be overlooked in this place, because they were the foundation of many important succeeding events of his life, in suggesting to him the benefits of a trafficking voyage to that coast. It will be seen hereafter, that he was the first, whether in Europe or America, to propose such a voyage as a mercantile enterprise, and that he persevered against numerous obstacles for several years, though with fruitless endeavours, to accomplish his object. The furs, purchased of the natives for a mere trifle, were sold in China at an enormous advance, which had not been anticipated, but which gave ample proof of the advantages of such a commerce, undertaken upon a large scale. After enumerating some of the productions of the soil, he adds, "The light in which this country will appear most to advantage respects the variety of its animals, and the richness of their furs. They have foxes, sables, hares, marmosets, ermines, weazles, bears, wolves, deer, moose, dogs, otters, beavers, and a species of weazle called the glutton. The skin of this animal was sold at Kamtschatka, a Russian factory on the Asiatic coast, for sixty rubles, which is near twelve guineas, and had

it been sold in China, it would have been worth thirty guineas. We purchased while here about fifteen hundred beaver, besides other skins, but took none but the best, having no thoughts at that time of using them to any other advantage, than converting them to the purposes of clothing; but it afterwards happened that skins, which did not cost the purchaser sixpence sterling, sold in China for one hundred dollars. Neither did we purchase a quarter part of the beaver and other fur skins we might have done, and most certainly should have done, had we known of meeting the opportunity of disposing of them to such an astonishing profit."

At Nootka Sound, and at the Sandwich Islands, Ledyard witnessed instances of cannibalism. In both places he saw human flesh prepared for food, but on one occasion only at each; for, he says, the sailors expressed such a horror at the sight, that the natives never ventured to repeat the act in their presence. In this part of his narrative he makes a digression on sacrifices, which I shall quote, not so much for its originality, or the conclusiveness of its reasoning, as to show his manner of considering the subject. His notion is, that cannibalism, or the custom of eating human flesh, which has by no means been uncommon among savage

tribes, had its origin in the custom of sacrificing human victims. There is good evidence, that other tribes of North American Indians, besides those at Nootka, have been cannibals, if they are not so even at the present day. There was a time, when some philanthropists professed to doubt the existence of this habit, so shocking to humanity: but the mass of testimony brought to light since Cook's first voyage is such, as to conquer the most obstinate reluctance to conviction. Let the sceptic look at New Zealand, and cease to doubt.

"The custom of sacrificing is very ancient. The first instance we have of it is in the lives of Cain and Abel. Their sacrifices consisted in part of animal flesh, burnt upon an altar dedicated to God. This custom exists now among all the uncivilized and Jewish nations, in the essential rites requisite to prove it analogous to the first institution. The only material change in the ceremony is, that the barbarous nations have added human flesh. Whether this additional ingredient in the oblation took place at a remote subsequent period, by the antecedent intervention of any extraordinary circumstance independent of the original form, does not appear, unless we place the subsequent period below the time of Abraham, or perhaps below the time of Jephthah. The

circumstance of Abraham's intended sacrifice of Isaac, to which he was enjoined by the Deity, though he absolutely did not do it, yet was sufficient to introduce the idea, that such a sacrifice was the most pleasing to God, and as it was an event very remarkable, it probably became an historical subject, and went abroad among other tribes, and was handed down among them by tradition, and liable to all the changes incident thereto; and in time the story might have been, that Abraham not only offered, but really did sacrifice his own son. But perhaps the story of Jephthah, judge of Israel, is more to the point. It is said, he sacrificed his daughter as a burnt-offering to the god, who had been propitious to him in war; which does appear to be an act independent of custom, or tradition, as it was performed wholly from the obligations of a rash vow, made to the Deity in the fulness of a heart surcharged with hopes and fears. It is also a fact, that after this, particularly in the reign of the wicked Ahaz, it was a general custom, especially among the heathen, to make their children 'pass through the fire; by which I suppose it is understood, that they were sacrificed with fire.

"It seems, then, that the circumstance of

adding human flesh in the ceremony of sacrificing did take place in the years antecedent to Christ, and most probably from the example of Jephthah. After this, we find it shifting places, attending the diffusive emigrations of the tribes, and commixing with mankind in general, but especially with those disunited from the chosen descendants of the great Abraham; whose descendants, being constantly favoured with civil and religious instructions from Heaven itself, were not only preserved from superstition and barbarity themselves, but were the means of furnishing the detached heathen with a variety of customs and ceremonies, that, from the mere light of nature, they never could have thought of; nor could they preserve them pure and uncorrupt after they had adopted them. Even the favoured Israelites were perpetually deviating into schisms and cabals, and frequently into downright idolatry, and all the vanity of superstition and unbridled nonsense, from the imbecility of human policy, when uninfluenced by heavenly wisdom and jurisprudence. No wonder, then, that the separate tribes from the house of Abraham, though they primarily received many of their principles of civil and religious government from a pure fountain, should debase and con-

taminate them by the spurious conjunction of things derived from their own imaginations. And this seems to have been the course of things to this day. There hath always been a part of mankind conspicuous for knowledge, superior in wisdom, and favoured by Heaven, from whom others are separated; and these, like the moon, have only shone with borrowed light. Some customs may be local and indigenous to particular times and circumstances, both in the civilized and uncivilized world; but far the greater part are derivative, and were originally bestowed on man by his supreme Governor; those that we find among the civilized and wise, measured on a philosophic scale, are uncorrupted, while those that we find existing in parts remote from civilization and knowledge, though they have a resemblance, which plainly intimates from whence they came, are yet debased, mutilated, and by some hardly known. But who, that had seen a human body sacrificed at Otaheite to their god of war, would not perceive an analogy to ancient custom on those occasions, and attribute it rather to such custom, than to any other cause whatever. And the custom is not confined to Otaheite alone; it pervades the islands throughout the Pacific ocean. It was

the case with the ancient Britons. The Mexicans depopulated society by this carnivorous species of sacrifice. This could not be the effect of accident, want, or caprice. It may be worthy of notice to remark, furthermore, that in the time of Ahaz, these sacrifices were made in high places. It was so in Mexico, and is so at Otaheite and other islands. The Mexicans flung their victims from the top of their temple, dedicated to their god of war. The Otaheitans and the other islanders prepare those oblations on their Morais."

Captain Cook remained a few days only at Nootka Sound, and then sailed northward, coasting along the American shore, and making various geographical discoveries till he came to Bering's Strait, which separates Asia from America. In passing through this Strait, Ledyard says both continents were distinctly seen at the same time. Cook traversed the polar seas in the month of August, as far north as the ice would permit, in search of a northwest passage, but without success. As the season advanced, he returned to the south, intending to renew his attempts the next year.

Few occurrences are recorded in the voyage back to the Sandwich Islands. There is one, however, which merits particular attention in

this narrative, since our hero was the chief actor. The adventure is mentioned in Cook's Voyages, and by Captain Burney, as highly creditable to the enterprise and discretion of Ledyard. It happened at the island of Onalaska, on the northwest coast. Ledyard himself wrote a particular description of it, which hardly admits of abridgment, and which may best be given, therefore, in his own words.

"I have before observed, that we had noticed many appearances to the eastward of this, as far almost as Sandwich Sound, of an European intercourse, and that we had at this island in particular met with circumstances, that did not only indicate such an intercourse, but seemed strongly to intimate, that some Europeans were actually somewhere on the spot. The appearances that led to these conjectures were such as these. We found among the inhabitants of this island two different kinds of people: the one we knew to be the aborigines of America, while we supposed the others to have come from the opposite coasts of Asia. There were two different dialects also observed, and we found them fond of tobacco, rum, and snuff. Tobacco we even found them possessed of, and we observed several blue linen shirts and drawers among them. But the most

remarkable circumstance was a cake of rye meal, newly baked, with a piece of salmon in it, seasoned with pepper and salt, which was brought and presented to Cook by a comely young chief, attended by two of those Indians, whom we supposed to be Asiatics. The chief seemed anxious to explain to Cook the meaning of the present, and the purport of his visit; nd he was so far successful as to persuade him, that there were some strangers in the country, who were white, and had come over the great waters in a vessel somewhat like ours, and, though not so large, was yet much larger than theirs.

"In consequence of this, Cook was determined to explore the island. It was difficult, however, to fix upon a plan, that would at once answer the purposes of safety and expedition. An armed body would proceed slowly; and if they should be cut off by the Indians, the loss in our present circumstances would be irreparable; and a single person would entirely risk his life, though he would be much more expeditious, if unmolested, and if he should be killed the loss would be only one. The latter seemed the best, but it was extremely hard to single out an individual, and command him to go upon such an expedition; and it was there-

fore thought proper to send a volunteer, or none. I was at this time, and indeed ever after, an intimate friend of John Gore, first lieutenant of the Resolution, a native of America as well as myself, and superior to me in command. He recommended me to Captain Cook to undertake the expedition, with which I immediately acquiesced.* Captain Cook

* The following biographical sketch has been furnished from a source which gives it a claim to confidence.

Captain John Gore was born about the year 1730, in the Colony of Virginia. It may be reasonably inferred, that he was brought up to the sea, as he served a long time on board the Windsor man-of-war, during the contest which preceded the American Revolution. In the successive voyages of the Dolphin, under Byron and Wallis, he served as a master's mate, and on his return to England with the latter, was promoted to a lieutenancy. The Endeavour was then preparing for a similar expedition, and having been appointed her second lieutenant, he accompanied Captain Cook in his first voyage round the world. In the following year, 1772, he was appointed to the command of a merchant-ship, which had been engaged by Sir Joseph Banks for the purpose of visiting Iceland and the Hebrides; and did not return again until after the departure of the Resolution and Adventure.

In the last voyage of Captain Cook, he served as first lieutenant of the Resolution, and on the death of the navigator, and of Captain Clerke, he respectively succeeded to the captaincy of the Discovery, and to the chief command. On his arrival in England, he was immediately promoted to the rank of Post

assured me, that he was happy I had undertaken it, as he was convinced I should persevere; and after giving me some instructions how to proceed, he wished me well, and desired I would not be longer absent than a week if possible, at the expiration of which he should

Captain, and shortly after to the station in Greenwich Hospital, which was to have been resumed by Captain Cook, in the event of his having returned. He remained in this honourable retirement till his death, which is recorded in a publication of the time, in the following words:—

"August 10, 1790—At his apartments in Greenwich Hospital, sincerely regretted by all who had the pleasure of his acquaintance, Captain John Gore, one of the Captains of Greenwich Hospital, a most experienced seaman, and an honour to his profession. He had sailed four times round the world; first with Commodore Byron; secondly, with Captain Wallis, and the two last times with Captain James Cook."

In the theoretical attainments of his profession, Captain Gore may have been equalled by many, but as a practical navigator he was surpassed by none. As an officer, he appears to have blended a proper degree of prudence with the most unshaken intrepidity; and his illustrious commander declares, that he ever reposed the fullest confidence in his diligence and ability. In his disposition he was benevolent; and his generosity (as is remarked by Captain King) was manifested on all occasions. But the character of a "very worthy man," ascribed to him by Van Troil, in his letters on Iceland, will comprise the enumeration of his virtues.

Of his particular kindness and attention to his countrymen, we have a striking proof in the case of Ledyard.

expect me to return. If I did not return by that time, he should wait another week for me, and no longer. The young chief before-mentioned, and his two attendants, were to be my guides. I took with me some presents adapted to the taste of the Indians, brandy in bottles, and bread, but no other provisions. I went entirely unarmed, by the advice of Captain Cook. The first day we proceeded about fifteen miles into the interior part of the island, without any remarkable occurrence, until we approached a village just before night. This village consisted of about thirty huts, some of them large and spacious, though not very high. The huts are composed of a kind of slight frame, erected over a square hole sunk about four feet into the ground; the frame is covered at the bottom with turf, and upwards it is thatched with coarse grass; the whole village was out to see us, and men, women, and children crowded about me. I was conducted by the young chief, who was my guide, and seemed proud and assiduous to serve me, into one of the largest huts. I was surprised at the behaviour of the Indians, for though they were curious to see me, yet they did not express that extraordinary curiosity, that would be expected had they never seen an European before, and I was

glad to perceive it, as it was an evidence in favour of what I wished to find true, namely, that there were Europeans now among them. The women of the house, which were almost the only ones I had seen at this island, were much more tolerable than I expected to find them; one, in particular, seemed very busy to please me; to her, therefore, I made several presents, with which she was extremely well pleased. As it was now dark, my young chief intimated to me, that we must tarry where we were that night, and proceed further the next day; to which I very readily consented, being much fatigued. Our entertainment, the subsequent part of the evening, did not consist of delicacies or much variety; they had dried fish, and I had bread and spirits, of which we all participated. Ceremony was not invited to the feast, and nature presided over the entertainment.

"At daylight Perpheela (which was the name of the young chief that was my guide) let me know that he was ready to go on; upon which I flung off the skins I had slept in, put on my shoes and outside vest, and arose to accompany him, repeating my presents to my friendly hosts. We had hitherto travelled in a northerly direction, but now went to the west-

ward and southward. I was now so much relieved from the apprehension of any insult or injury from the Indians, that my journey would have been even agreeable, had I not been taken lame, with a swelling in the feet, which rendered it extremely painful to walk; the country was also rough and hilly, and the weather wet and cold. About three hours before dark we came to a large bay, which appeared to be four leagues over. Here my guide, Perpheela, took a canoe and all our baggage, and set off, seemingly to cross the bay. He appeared to leave me in an abrupt manner, and told me to follow the two attendants. This gave me some uneasiness. I now followed Perpheela's two attendants, keeping the bay in view, but we had not gone above six miles before we saw a canoe approaching us from the opposite side of the bay, in which were two Indians; as soon as my guides saw the canoe, we ran to the shore from the hills and hailed them, and finding they did not hear us, we got some bushes and waved them in the air, which they saw, and stood directly for us. This canoe was sent by Perpheela to bring me across the bay, and shorten the distance of the journey.

"It was beginning to be dark when the canoe came to us. It was a skin canoe, after

the Esquimaux plan, with two holes to accommodate two sitters. The Indians that came in the canoe talked a little with my two guides, and then came to me and desired I would get into the canoe. This I did not very readily agree to, however, as there was no other place for me but to be thrust into the space between the holes, extended at length upon my back, and wholly excluded from seeing the way I went, or the power of extricating myself upon an emergency. But as there was no alternative, I submitted thus to be stowed away in bulk, and went head foremost very swift through the water about an hour, when I felt the canoe strike a beach, and afterwards lifted up and carried some distance, and then set down again; after which I was drawn out by the shoulders by three or four men, for it was now so dark that I could not tell who they were, though I was conscious I heard a language that was new. I was conducted by two of these persons, who appeared to be strangers, about forty rods, when I saw lights and a number of huts like those I left in the morning. As we approached one of them, a door opened, and discovered a lamp, by which, to my joy and surprise, I discovered that the two men, who held me by each arm, were

Europeans, fair and comely, and concluded from their appearance they were Russians; which I soon after found to be true. As we entered the hut, which was particularly long, I saw, arranged on each side, on a platform of plank, a number of Indians, who all bowed to me; and as I advanced to the farther end of the hut, there were other Russians. When I reached the end of the room, I was seated on a bench covered with fur skins, and as I was much fatigued, wet, and cold, I had a change of garments brought me, consisting of a blue silk shirt and drawers, a fur cap, boots, and gown, all which I put on with the same cheerfulness they were presented with. Hospitality is a virtue peculiar to man, and the obligation is as great to receive as to confer. As soon as I was rendered warm and comfortable, a table was set before me with a lamp upon it; all the Russians in the house sat down round me, and the bottles of spirits, tobacco, snuff, and whatever Perpheela had, were brought and set upon it; these I presented to the company, intimating that they were presents from Commodore Cook, who was an Englishman. One of the company then gave me to understand, that all the white people I saw there were subjects of the Empress Catherine of Russia, and rose and

kissed my hand, the rest uncovering their heads. I then informed them, as well as I could, that Commodore Cook wanted to see some of them, and had sent me there to conduct them to our ships.

These preliminaries over, we had supper, which consisted of boiled whale, halibut fried in oil, and broiled salmon. The latter I ate, and they gave me rye-bread, but would eat none of it themselves. They were very fond of the rum, which they drank without any mixture or measure. I had a very comfortable bed composed of different fur-skins, both under and over me, and being harassed the preceding day, I went soon to rest. After I had lain down, the Russians assembled the Indians in a very silent manner, and said prayers after the manner of the Greek church, which is much like the Roman. I could not but observe with what particular satisfaction the Indians performed their devoirs to God, through the medium of their little crucifixes, and with what pleasure they went through the multitude of ceremonies attendant on that sort of worship. I think it a religion the best calculated in the world to gain proselytes, when the people are either unwilling or unable to speculate, or when they cannot be made acquainted with the history

and principles of christianity without a formal education.

"I had a very comfortable night's rest, and did not wake the next morning until late. As soon as I was up, I was conducted to a hut at a little distance from the one I had slept in, where I saw a number of platforms raised about three feet from the ground, and covered with dry coarse grass and some small green bushes. There were several of the Russians already here, besides those who conducted me, and several Indians who were heating water in a large copper cauldron over a furnace, the heat of which, and the steam which evaporated from the hot water, rendered the hut, which was very tight, extremely hot and suffocating. I soon understood this was a hot bath, of which I was asked to make use in a friendly manner. The apparatus being a little curious, I consented to it, but before I had finished undressing myself, I was overcome by the sudden change of the air, fainted away, and fell back on the platform I was sitting on. I was, however, soon relieved by having cold and lukewarm water administered to my face and different parts of my body. I finished undressing, and proceeded as I saw the rest do, who were now all undressed. The Indians, who served

us, brought us, as we sat or extended ourselves on the platforms, water of different temperatures, from that which was as hot as we could bear, to quite cold. The hot water was accompanied with some hard soap and a flesh-brush; it was not however thrown on the body from the dish, but sprinkled on with the green bushes. After this, the water made use of was less warm, and by several gradations became at last quite cold, which concluded the ceremony. We again dressed and returned to our lodgings, where our breakfast was smoking on the table; but the flavour of our feast, as well as its appearance, had nearly produced a relapse in my spirits, and no doubt would, if I had not had recourse to some of the brandy I had brought, which happily saved me. I was a good deal uneasy, lest the cause of my discomposure should disoblige my friends, who meant to treat me in the best manner they could. I therefore attributed my illness to the bath, which might possibly have partly occasioned it, for I am not very subject to fainting. I could eat none of the breakfast, however, though far from wanting an appetite. It was mostly of whale, sea-horse, and bear, which, though smoked, dried, and boiled, produced a composition of smells very offensive at nine or

ten in the morning. I therefore desired I might have a piece of smoked salmon broiled dry, which I ate with some of my own biscuit.

" After breakfast I intended to set off on my return to the ships, though there came on a disagreeable snow storm. But my new-found friends objected to it, and gave me to understand that I should go the next day, and, if I chose, three of them would accompany me. This I immediately agreed to, as it anticipated a favour I intended to ask them, though I before much doubted whether they would comply with it. I amused myself within doors, while it snowed without, by writing down a few words of the original languages of the American Indians, and of the Asiatics, who came over to this coast with these Russians from Kamtschatka.

" In the afternoon the weather cleared up, and I went out to see how those Russian adventurers were situated. I found the whole village to contain about thirty huts, all of which were built partly under ground, and covered with turf at the bottom, and coarse grass at the top. The only circumstance that can recommend them is their warmth, which is occasioned partly by their manner of construction, and

partly by a kind of oven, in which they constantly keep a fire night and day. They sleep on platforms built on each side of the hut, on which they have a number of bear and other skins, which render them comfortable; and as they have been educated in a hardy manner, they need little or no other support, than what they procure from the sea and from hunting. The number of Russians were about thirty, and they had with them about seventy Kamtschadales, or Indians from Kamtschatka. These, with some of the American Indians, whom they had entered into friendship with, occupied the village, enjoyed every benefit in common with the Russians, and were converts to their religion. Such other of the aborigines of the island, as had not become converts to their sentiments in religious and civil matters, were excluded from such privileges, and were prohibited from wearing certain arms.

I also found a small sloop, of about thirty tons burthen, lying in a cove behind the village, and a hut near her, containing her sails, cordage, and other sea equipage, and one old iron three-pounder. It is natural to an ingenuous mind, when it enters a town, a house, or ship, that has been rendered famous by any particular event, to feel the full force of that pleasure, which results from

gratifying a noble curiosity. I was no sooner informed, that this sloop was the same in which the famous Bering had performed those discoveries, which did him so much honour, and his country such great service, than I was determined to go on board of her, and indulge the generous feelings the occasion inspired. I intimated my wishes to the man that accompanied me, who went back to the village, and brought a canoe, in which we went on board, where I remained about an hour, and then returned. This little bark belonged to Kamtschatka, and came from thence with the Asiatics already mentioned, to this island, which they call Onalaska, in order to establish a pelt and fur factory. They had been here about five years, and go over to Kamtschatka in her once a year, to deliver their merchandise, and get a recruit of such supplies as they need from the chief factory there, of which I shall take further notice hereafter.

"The next day I set off from this village, well satisfied with the happy issue of a tour, which was now as agreeable as it was at first undesirable. I was accompanied by three of the principal Russians, and some attendants. We embarked at the village in a large skin boat, much like our large whale-boats, rowing

with twelve oars; and as we struck directly across the bay, we shortened our distance several miles, and the next day, passing the same village I had before been at, we arrived by sunset at the bay where the ships lay, and before dark I got on board with our new acquaintances. The satisfaction this discovery gave Cook, and the honour that redounded to me, may be easily imagined, and the several conjectures respecting the appearance of a foreign intercourse were rectified and confirmed."

Such other researches, as could be pursued at that season, having been made at Onalaska, and along the coast, Cook left the continent, and shaped his course for the Sandwich Islands. Two months' sailing brought him in view of one of the group, not discovered on his voyage to the north, called by the natives Owhyhee, or Hawyhee, as Ledyard writes it, or Hawaii, according to the modern orthography of the missionaries.* As our traveller is more minute in his description of the events that happened at this island, and particularly

* It is to be observed, that the sound expressed by Ledyard's orthography, and that of the missionaries, is exactly the same, he preserving the English sounds of the vowels, and they adopting the Italian.

in his account of the death of Captain Cook, than most narrators, and as he describes only what came within his own knowledge, it may be worth while to dwell a little upon these topics.

CHAPTER V.

The ships anchored in Kearakekua bay.—First interview with the natives.—Reverence with which they regarded Cook.—Tents erected for astronomical observations.—Ceremonies of the meeting of Cook with the old king.—Ledyard forms the project of ascending the high mountain in Hawaii, called by the natives *Mouna Roa*.—Description of his ascent, and cause of his ultimate failure.—The natives begin to show symptoms of uneasiness at the presence of the strangers, and to treat them with disrespect.—Offended at the encroachment made on their Morai.—Cook departs from Kearakekua bay, but is compelled to return by a heavy storm, that overtakes him, and injures his ships.—Natives receive him coldly.—They steal one of the ship's boats, which Cook endeavours to recover.—Goes on shore for the purpose.—Is there attacked by the natives and slain.—Ledyard accompanied him on shore, and was near his person when killed.—His description of the event.—Expedition sails for Kamtschatka, explores again the Polar seas, and returns to England.—Ledyard's opinions respecting the first peopling of the South Sea Islands.—Other remarks relating to this subject, founded on the analogy of languages, and manners of the people.—Characteristics of Ledyard's journal.—Estimation in which he held Captain Cook.

THE ships were several days among the islands, sailing in different directions, before a harbour was discovered, in which they could anchor with safety, and where water and provisions could be procured. At length they entered a commodious bay on the south side of Hawaii, extending inland about two miles

and a half, having the town of Kearakekua on one side, and Kiverua on the other. These towns contained fourteen hundred houses. The crowds of people that flocked to the shore, as the vessels sailed in and came to anchor, were prodigious. They had assembled from the interior and the coast. Three thousand canoes were counted in the bay, filled with men, women, and children, to the number of at least fifteen thousand, besides others that were swimming and sustaining themselves on floats in the water. The scene was animated and grotesque in the extreme. "The beach, the surrounding rocks, the tops of houses, the branches of trees, and the adjacent hills were all covered; and the shouts of joy and admiration, proceeding from the sonorous voices of the men, confused with the shriller exclamations of the women, dancing and clapping their hands, the oversetting of canoes, cries of the children, goods afloat, and hogs that were brought to market squeaking, formed one of the most curious prospects that can be imagined." But amidst this immense concourse, all was peace, harmony, hilarity, and good nature. Many of the natives were contented to gaze and wonder; others, by their noise and actions, gave more imposing demonstrations of

their joy and admiration; while others were busy in bartering away hogs, sweet potatoes, and such provisions as they had, for articles that pleased their fancy.

Cook's first visit to the shore was attended with a good deal of ceremony. Two chiefs, with long white poles as ensigns of their authority, made a passage among the canoes for his pinnace, and the people, as he was rowed along, covered their faces with their hands. When he landed, they fell prostrate on the beach before him, and a new set of officers opened a way for him through the crowd. The same expressions of awe were manifested, as he proceeded from the water's edge. "The people upon the adjacent hills, upon the houses, on the stone walls, and in the tops of the trees, also hid their faces, while he passed along the opening, but he had no sooner passed them, than they rose and followed him. But if Cook happened to turn his head, or look behind him, they were down again in an instant, and up again as soon, whenever his face was reverted to some other quarter. This punctilious performance of respect in so vast a throng, being regulated solely by the accidental turn of one man's head, and the transition being sudden and short, rendered it very difficult even for an

individual to be in proper attitude. If he lay prostrate but a second too long, he was pretty sure not to rise again until he had been trampled upon by all behind him, and if he dared not to prostrate himself, he would stumble over those before him who did. This produced a great many laughable circumstances, and as Cook walked very fast to get from the sand into the shades of the town, it rendered the matter still more difficult. At length, however, they adopted a medium, that much better answered a running compliment, and did not displease the chiefs; this was to go upon all fours, which was truly ludicrous among at least ten thousand people." This confusion ceased, however, before long, for Cook was conducted to the *Morai*, a sacred enclosure, which none but the chiefs and their attendants were allowed to enter. Here he was unmolested, and the presents were distributed.

His first object was to procure a situation on shore to erect tents, and fit up the astronomical instruments. A suitable spot was granted, on condition that none of the seamen should leave the place after sunset, and with a stipulation on the part of the chiefs, that none of their people should enter it by night. To make this effectual, the ground was marked out

by white rods, and put under the restriction of the *tabu*, which no native dared violate, being restrained by the superstitious fear of offending the *atuas*, or invisible spirits of the island. This caution surprised Cook a little, as he had not witnessed it among the natives of the other South Sea Islands. It appeared reasonable, and he consented to it, not foreseeing the mischiefs to which it would ultimately lead. Ledyard considers it the origin of all the disasters that followed. Restrictions were imposed, which could not be enforced; they were violated secretly at first, then with less reserve, and at last openly. The men in the tents were the first to transgress, by going abroad contrary to the agreement. The native women were tempted by them to pass over the prescribed limits, although they shuddered at the apprehension of the consequences which might follow such a disregard of the *tabu*. When they found, however, that no harm came upon them from the enraged *atuas*, their fears by degrees subsided. This intercourse was not such as to raise the Europeans in the estimation of the islanders. It was begun by stealth, and prosecuted in violation of the sacred injunction of the *tabu;* and as no measures were taken to prevent it, the chiefs naturally considered it an

infraction of the agreement. Ledyard was himself stationed on shore, with a guard of marines, to protect the tents, and enjoyed the best opportunity for seeing and knowing what passed in that quarter.

Harmony and a good understanding, among all parties, prevailed for several days. Cook went through the ceremony of being anointed with cocoa-nut oil, by one of the chief priests, and of listening to a speech half an hour in length, on the occasion, from the same high dignitary. When Teraiobu, the king, a feeble old man, returned from one of the other islands, where he had been on a visit, there was another ceremony, conducted with great form, at his meeting with Cook. Entertainments succeeded, and good cheer and good humour were seen everywhere. Cook first invited Teraiobu and his chiefs on board to dinner. They were temperate, drinking water only, and eating but little. The old king satisfied himself entirely with bread-fruit and water, but the younger chiefs comprised in their repast the luxury of pork and fowls. They all went away well pleased, and the king invited Cook to dine with him the next day at his royal residence. The invitation was accepted; and when the hour came, the navigator and his officers were sump-

tuously feasted on baked hog and potatoes, neatly spread out on green plantain leaves, and, for beverage, they were supplied with cocoa-nut milk. The day was closed with gymnastic exercises, wrestling and boxing, ordered by the old king for the amusement of his guests. On the next evening, Cook in his turn exhibited fire-works on shore, much to the amazement of the beholders, who had never before seen such a display. Many laughable incidents occurred. When the first sky-rocket was discharged, the multitude was seized with the greatest consternation. Cook and his officers "could hardly hold the old feeble Teraiobu, and some elder ladies of quality that sat among them; and before they had recovered from this paroxysm, nearly the whole host, that a moment before surrounded them, had fled." Some were too much frightened to return any more, but others came back as their fears abated, and had the courage to keep their ground through the remainder of the exhibition.

Thus all things were proceeding, as Ledyard expresses it, "in the old Otaheite style;" the visitors and the islanders were mutually pleased with each other, kind offices were reciprocated, abundant stores of provisions were carried on board, and prospects were favourable.

While affairs were in this train, Ledyard formed the design of ascending the high peak, which rises from the centre of the island, and is called by the natives *Mouna Roa.* Although this mountain stands on an island only ninety miles in diameter, yet it is one of the highest in the world. Its elevation has been estimated to be about eighteen thousand feet, and its summit is usually covered with snow. From his station at the tents, Ledyard sent a note on board the Resolution to Captain Cook, asking permission to make this jaunt, for the double purpose of exploring the interior, and, if possible climbing to the top of the mountain. The request was granted. The botanist, and the gunner of the Resolution, were deputed by the commander to accompany him. Natives were also engaged to carry the baggage, and serve as guides through the woods. A tropical sun was then pouring its rays on them at the bay of Kearakekua, but the snows visible on the peak of Mouna Roa warned them to provide additional clothing, and guard against the effects of a sudden transition from heat to cold. The party at length set off. On first leaving the town their route lay through enclosed plantations of sweet potatoes, with a soil of lava, tilled in some places with difficulty. Now and

then a patch of sugar-cane was seen in a moist place. Next came the open plantations, consisting chiefly of bread-fruit trees, and the land began to ascend more abruptly.

"We continued up the ascent," he writes, "to the distance of a mile and a half further, and found the land thick covered with wild fern, among which our botanist found a new species. It was now near sunset, and being upon the skirts of these woods, that so remarkably surrounded this island, at a uniform distance of four or five miles from the shore, we concluded to halt, especially as there was a hut hard by, that would afford us a better retreat during the night, than what we might expect if we proceeded. When we reached the hut, we found it inhabited by an elderly man, his wife, and daughter, the emblem of innocent, uninstructed beauty. They were somewhat discomposed at our appearance and equipment, and would have left their house through fear, had not the Indians, who accompanied us, persuaded them otherwise, and at last reconciled them to us. We sat down together before the door, and from the height of the situation we had a complete retrospective view of our route, of the town, of part of the bay, and one of our ships, besides an ex-

tensive prospect on the ocean, and a distant view of three of the neighbouring islands.

"As we had proposed remaining at this hut through the night, and were willing to preserve what provisions we had ready dressed, we purchased a little pig, and had him dressed by our host, who finding his account in his visitants, bestirred himself and soon had it ready. After supper we had some of our brandy diluted with the mountain water, and we had so long been confined to the poor brackish water at the bay below, that it was a kind of nectar to us. As soon as the sun was set, we found a considerable difference in the state of the air. At night a heavy dew fell, and we felt it very chilly, and had recourse to our blankets, notwithstanding we were in the hut. The next morning, when we came to enter the woods, we found there had been a heavy rain though none of it had approached us, notwithstanding we were within two hundred yards of the skirts of the forest. And it seemed to be a matter of fact, both from the information of the natives and our own observations, that neither the rains nor the dews descended lower than where the woods terminated, unless at the equinoxes or some periodical conjuncture, by which means the space between the

woods and the shore is rendered warm, and fit for the purposes of culture, and the vegetation of tropical productions. We traversed these woods by a compass, keeping a direct course for the peak, and was so happy the first day as to find a foot path that tended nearly our due course, by which means we travelled by estimation about fifteen miles, and though it would have been no extraordinary march had circumstances been different, yet, as we found them, we thought it a very great one; for it was not only excessively miry and rough, but the way was mostly an ascent, and we had been unused to walking, and especially to carrying such loads as we had. Our Indian companions were much more fatigued than we were, though they had nothing to carry, and, what displeased us very much, would not carry anything. Our botanical researches delayed us somewhat. The sun had not set when we halted, yet meeting with a situation that pleased us, and not being limited as to time, we spent the remaining part of the day as humour dictated, some in botanizing, and those who had fowling-pieces, with them in shooting. For my part, I could not but think the present appearance of our encampment claimed a part of our attention, and therefore set about some alterations and amendments. It was the trunk of a tree, that

had fallen by the side of the path, and lay with one end transversely over another tree, that had fallen before in an opposite direction; and as it measured twenty-two feet in circumference, and lay four feet from the ground, it afforded very good shelter except at the sides, which defect I supplied by large pieces of bark, and a good quantity of boughs, which rendered it very commodious. We slept through the night under it much better than we had done the preceding, notwithstanding there was a heavy dew, and the air cold.

"The next morning we set out in good spirits, hoping that day to reach the snowy peak; but we had not gone a mile, before the path, that had hitherto so much facilitated our progress, began not only to take a direction southward of west, but had been so little frequented as to be almost effaced. In this situation we consulted our Indian convoy, but to no purpose. We then advised among ourselves, and at length concluded to proceed by the nearest route without any beaten track, and went in this manner about four miles further, finding the way even more steep and rough, than we had yet experienced, but above all impeded by such impenetrable thickets, as rendered it impossible for us to proceed any

further. We therefore abandoned our design, and returning in our own track, reached the retreat we had improved the last night, having been the whole day in walking only about ten miles, and we had been very assiduous too. We found the country here, as well as at the seashore, universally overspread with lava, and also saw several subterranean excavations, that had every appearance of past eruption and fire. Our botanist to-day met with great success, and we had also shot a number of fine birds of the liveliest and most variegated plumage, that any of us had ever met with, but we heard no melody among them. Except these we saw no other kind of birds but the screech-owl; neither did we see any kind of quadruped, but we caught several curious insects. The woods here are thick and luxuriant, the largest trees being nearly thirty feet in the girth, and these with the shrubbery underneath, and the whole intersected with vines, render it very umbrageous.

"The next day, about two in the afternoon, we cleared the woods by our old route, and by six o'clock reached the tents, having penetrated about twenty-four miles, and, we supposed, within eleven of the peak. Our Indians were extremely fatigued, though they had no baggage."*

* This mountain was never ascended to the top, till very re-

Were we to follow the author closely in his narrative, we should here introduce his description of the island of Hawaii, and of the various objects that attracted his notice. He speaks of the geological structure of the island, its soil, productions, climate, and animals; the customs of the natives, their superstitions, government, and criminal offences; their way of living, and the remarkable differences between them and the other islanders of the South Sea. On some of these topics his remarks are original and striking, but we must pass over them, and hasten to particulars of higher interest.

Before two weeks had expired, the natives began to show symptoms of uneasiness at the presence of the foreigners, and to treat them with diminished respect. In truth, very little pains were taken to preserve their good opinion, or to keep alive their kind feelings; and one untoward event after another was perpetually occurring to lessen the admiration, which novelty had excited, and to alienate them from their newly made friends. Ledyard mentions several incidents of this description,

cently. Mr. Goodrich, one of the American Missionaries on the island, was the first person, who persevered in reaching the summit. He ascended on a side of the mountain nearly opposite to that where Ledyard made the attempt.

which are not alluded to in the authorised account of Cook's last voyage. Some of them, probably, were not known to the writer, and others were omitted from motives of policy, as being rather evidences of neglect or injudicious management, than of cautious or discreet measures. The natives first began to practise slight insults, which seemed to proceed rather from a mischievous, than a malignant temper. The master's mate was ordered to take on board the rudder of the Resolution, which had been sent ashore for repairs. It was too heavy for his men to remove, and he asked the natives to assist them. Fifty or sixty immediately caught hold of the rope attached to the rudder, and began to pull. But whether in sport or by design, they caused only embarrassment and disorder. "This exasperated the mate, and he struck two or three of them, which being observed by a chief that was present, he interposed. The mate haughtily told the chief to order his people to assist him, and the chief, as well as the people, having no intention but of showing their disregard and scorn, which had long been growing towards us, laughed at him, hooted him, and threw stones at him and the crew, who taking up some trunnels that were lying by, fell upon the Indians, beat many of them much, and drove the rest several rods

back; but the crowd collecting at a little distance, formed, and began to use abusive language, challenge our people, and throw stones, some of which came into our encampment." Ledyard's guard of marines was ordered out, "at least to make a show of resentment," and the commanding officer at the tents went out himself to quell the disturbance; but they were all pelted with stones, and retired, leaving the field to the natives till night, when the rudder was taken on board.

"Instances of this kind, though of less apparent importance, had happened several times before this on shore; but on board hardly a day passed after the first week, that did not produce some petty disturbance in one or both of the ships, and they chiefly proceeded from thefts perpetrated by the natives in a manner little short of robbery. Cook and Teraiobu were fully employed in adjusting and compromising these differences, and as there was really a reciprocal disinterested regard between him and this good old man, it tended much to facilitate these amicable negociations. But in the midst of these measures, Cook was insensible of the daily decline of his greatness and importance in the estimation of the natives; nay, so confident was he, and so secure in the opposite

opinion, that on the fourth of February he came to Kearakekua, with his boats, to purchase and carry off the fence round the Morai, which he wanted to wood the ships with. When he landed, he sent for the Priest Kikinny, and some other chiefs, and offered them two iron hatchets for the fence. The chiefs were astonished, not only at the inadequate price, but at the proposal, and refused him.

"Cook was as much chagrined as they were surprised, and, not meeting with the easy acquiescence he expected to his requisitions, gave immediate orders to his people to ascend the Morai, break down the fence and load the boats with it, leading the way himself to enforce his orders. The poor dismayed chiefs, dreading his displeasure, which they saw approaching, followed him upon the Morai to behold the fence that enclosed the mansions of their noble ancestors, and the images of their gods, torn to pieces by a handful of rude strangers, without the power, or at least without the resolution, of opposing their sacrilegious depredations. When Cook had ascended the Morai, he once more offered the hatchets to the chiefs. It was a very unequal price, if the honest chiefs would have accepted of the bribe; and Cook offered it only to evade the imputation of taking their

property without payment. The chiefs again refused it. Cook then added another hatchet, and kindling into resentment, told them to take it or nothing. Kikinny, to whom the offer was made, turned pale, and trembled as he stood, but still refused. Cook thrust them into his garment, that was folded round him, and left him immediately to hasten the execution of his orders. As for Kikinny, he turned to some of his menials, and made them take the hatchets out of his garment, not touching them himself. By this time a considerable concourse of the natives had assembled under the walls of the Morai, where we were throwing the wood down, and were very outrageous, and even threw the wood and images back as we threw them down; and I cannot think what prevented them from proceeding to greater lengths; however, it so happened that we got the whole into the boats, and safely on board."

This story is told differently by Captain King, who wrote that part of Cook's Third Voyage, which relates to the Sandwich Islands. As he represents it, no objection was made to the proposal for taking away the enclosure of wood, that surrounded the *Morai*, and even the images were tumbled down and carried off, under the eyes of the priests, without any resist-

ance or disapprobation on their part. This would seem improbable. The Morai was the depositary of the dead, a place where the images of the gods were kept, and solemn ceremonies performed. It is not easy to reconcile the two accounts, but Ledyard was employed with others in removing the fence, and he manifestly describes what he saw. He may not have been so well acquainted with the manner and conditions of the purchase, as Captain King, yet in the detail of occurrences in which he was engaged, and their effects on the people around him, it is hardly possible that he should have been mistaken. Again, he writes,

"On the evening of the fifth, we struck our tents, and everything was taken on board, and it was manifestly much to the satisfaction of the natives. A little after dark an old house, that stood on a corner of the Morai, took fire and burnt down; this we supposed was occasioned by our people's carelessly leaving their fire near it, but that was not the case. The natives burnt it themselves, to show us the resentment they entertained towards us, on account of our using it without their consent, and indeed manifestly against it. We had made a sail-loft of one part of it, and an

hospital for our sick of the other, though it evidently was esteemed by the natives as holy as the rest of the Morai, and ought to have been considered so by us."

They had now been nineteen days in Kearakekua bay; the ships had been repaired, the seamen recruited after their long toils, provisions for several months laid in, and nothing more was wanting to enable them to go again to sea, but a supply of water. This was not to be had at Kearakekua, except of a brackish quality, and it was resolved to search for it on some of the other islands. For this object the vessels were unmoored, and sailed out of the harbour. No sooner had they got to sea, than a violent gale came on, which lasted three days, and injured so seriously the Resolution's foremast, that Cook was compelled to return speedily to his old anchorage ground, and make repairs. Our voyager is so circumstantial in his account from this point, till the tragical death of Captain Cook, that I shall not mar his narrative by curtailing it. The only thing necessary to be premised is, that he was one of the small party who landed with the unfortunate navigator on the morning of his death, and was near him during the fatal contest, although this does not appear from his own statement.

"Our return to this bay was as disagreeable to us, as it was to the inhabitants, for we were reciprocally tired of each other. They had been oppressed, and were weary of our prostituted alliance, and we were aggrieved by the consideration of wanting the provisions and refreshments of the country, which we had every reason to suppose, from their behaviour antecedent to our departure, would now be withheld from us, or brought in such small quantities as to be worse than none. What we anticipated was true. When we entered the bay, where before we had the shouts of thousands to welcome our arrival, we had the mortification not to see a single canoe, and hardly any inhabitants in the towns. Cook was chagrined, and his people were soured. Towards night, however, the canoes came in, but the provisions, both in quantity and quality, plainly informed us, that times were altered; and what was very remarkable was the exorbitant price they asked, and the particular fancy they all at once took to iron daggers or dirks, which were the only articles that were any ways current, with the chiefs at least. It was also equally evident from the looks of the natives, as well as every other appearance, that our former friendship was at an end, and that we

had nothing to do but to hasten our departure to some different island, where our vices were not known, and where our extrinsic virtues might gain us another short space of being wondered at, and doing as we pleased, or, as our tars expressed it, of being happy by the month.

"Nor was their passive appearance of disgust all we had to fear, nor did it continue long. Before dark a canoe with a number of armed chiefs came along-side of us without provisions, and indeed without any perceptible design. After staying a short time only, they went to the Discovery, where a part of them went on board. Here they affected great friendship, and unfortunately overacting it, Clerke was suspicious, and ordered two sentinels on the gangways. These men were purposely sent by the chief, who had formerly been so very intimate with Clerke, and afterwards so ill treated by him, with the charge of stealing his jolly-boat. They came with a determination of mischief, and effected it. After they were all returned to the canoe but one, they got their paddles and everything ready for a start. Those in the canoes, observing the sentry to be watchful, took off his attention by some conversation, that they knew would be pleasing to him, and by this means favoured the designs of

the man on board, who watching his opportunity snatched two pairs of tongs, and other iron tools that then lay close by the armourers at work at the forge, and mounting the gangway-rail, with one leap threw himself and his goods into the canoe, that was then upon the move, and, taking up his paddle joined the others; and standing directly for the shore, they were out of our reach almost instantaneously even before a musket could be had from the arms-chest to fire at them. The sentries had only hangers. This was the boldest exploit that had yet been attempted, and had a bad aspect. Clerke immediately sent to the commodore, who advised him to send a boat on shore to endeavour at least to regain the goods, if they could not the men who took them; but the errand was as ill executed as contrived: and the master of the Discovery was glad to return with a severe drubbing from the very chief, who had been so maltreated by Clerke. The crew was also pelted with stones, and had all their oars broken, and they had not a single weapon in the boat, not even a cutlass, to defend themselves. When Cook heard of this, he went armed himself in person to the guard on shore, took a file of marines, and went through the whole town demanding restitution, and

threatening the delinquents and their abettors with the severest punishments; but not being able to effect anything, he came off just at sunset highly displeased, and not a little concerned at the bad appearance of things. But even this was nothing to what followed.

"On the thirteenth, at night, the Discovery's large cutter, which was at her usual moorings at the bower buoy, was taken away. On the fourteenth the captains met to consult what should be done on this alarming occasion; and the issue of their opinions was, that one of the two captains should land with armed boats and a guard of marines at Kiverua, and attempt to persuade Teraiobu, who was then at his house in that town, to come on board upon a visit, and that when he was on board he should be kept prisoner, until his subjects should release him by a restitution of the cutter; and if it was afterwards thought proper, he, or some of the family who might accompany him, should be kept as perpetual hostages for the good behaviour of the people, during the remaining part of our continuance at Kearakekua. This plan was the more approved of by Cook, as he had so repeatedly on former occasions to the southward employed it with success. Clerke was then in a deep decline of his health, and too feeble to undertake the affair, though

it naturally devolved upon him, as a point of duty, not well transferable; he therefore begged Cook to oblige him so much as to take that part of the business of the day upon himself in his stead. This Cook agreed to, but previous to his landing made some additional arrangements, respecting the possible event of things, though it is certain, from the appearance of the subsequent arrangements, that he guarded more against the flight of Teraiobu, or those he could wish to see, than from an attack, or even much insult. The disposition of our guards, when the movements began, was thus. Cook in his pinnace with six private marines; a corporal, sergeant, and two lieutenants of marines went ahead, followed by the launch with other marines and seamen on one quarter, and the small cutter on the other, with only the crew on board. This part of the guard rowed for Kearakekua. Our large cutter and two boats from the Discovery, had orders to proceed to the mouth of the bay, form at equal distances across, and prevent any communication by water from any other part of the island to the towns within the bay, or from those without. Cook landed at Kiverua about nine o'clock in the morning, with the marines in the pinnace, and went by a circuitous march to the house of Teraiobu, in order to evade the suspicion of

any design. This route led through a considerable part of the town, which discovered every symptom of mischief, though Cook, blinded by some fatal cause, could not perceive it, or, too self-confident, would not regard it.

"The town was evacuated by the women and children, who had retired to the circumjacent hills, and appeared almost destitute of men; but there were at that time two hundred chiefs, and more than twice that number of other men, detached and secreted in different parts of the houses nearest to Teraiobu, exclusive of unknown numbers without the skirts of the town, and those that were seen were dressed many of them in black. When the guard reached Teraiobu's house, Cook ordered the lieutenant of marines to go in and see if he was at home, and if he was, to bring him out; the lieutenant went in, and found the old man sitting with two or three old women of distinction, and when he gave Teraiobu to understand that Cook was without, and wanted to see him, he discovered the greatest marks of uneasiness, but arose and accompanied the lieutenant out, holding his hand. When he came before Cook, he squatted down upon his hams as a mark of humiliation, and Cook took him by the hand from the lieutenant, and conversed with him.

"The appearance of our parade, both by water and on shore, though conducted with the utmost silence, and with as little ostentation as possible, had alarmed the towns on both sides of the bay, but particularly Kiverua, where the people were in complete order for an onset; otherwise it would have been a matter of surprise, that though Cook did not see twenty men in passing through the town, yet before he had conversed ten minutes with Teraiobu, he was surrounded by three or four hundred people, and above half of them chiefs. Cook grew uneasy when he observed this, and was the more urgent in his persuasions with Teraiobu to go on board, and actually persuaded the old man to go at length, and led him within a rod or two of the shore; but the just fears and conjectures of the chiefs at last interposed. They held the old man back, and one of the chiefs threatened Cook, when he attempted to make them quit Teraiobu. Some of the crowd now cried out, that Cook was going to take their king from them and kill him, and there was one in particular that advanced towards Cook in an attitude that alarmed one of the guard, who presented his bayonet and opposed him, acquainting Cook in the meantime of the danger of his situation, and that the Indians in a few minutes would

attack him; that he had overheard the man, whom he had just stopped from rushing in upon him, say that our boats which were out in the harbour had just killed his brother, and he would be revenged. Cook attended to what this man said, and desired him to show him the Indian, that had dared to attempt a combat with him, and as soon as he was pointed out, Cook fired at him with a blank. The Indian, perceiving he received no damage from the fire, rushed from without the crowd a second time, and threatened any one that should oppose him. Cook perceiving this, fired a ball, which, entering the Indian's groin he fell, and was drawn off by the rest.

"Cook perceiving the people determined to oppose his designs, and that he should not succeed without further bloodshed, ordered the lieutenant of marines, Mr. Phillips, to withdraw his men and get them into the boats, which were then lying ready to receive them. This was effected by the serjeant: but the instant they began to retreat, Cook was hit with a stone, and perceiving the man who threw it, shot him dead. The officer in the boats observing the guard retreat, and hearing this third discharge, ordered the boats to fire. This occasioned the guard to face about and fire,

and then the attack became general. Cook and Mr. Phillips were together a few paces in the rear of the guard, and, perceiving a general fire without orders, quitted Teraiobu, and ran to the shore to put a stop to it; but not being able to make themselves heard, and being close pressed upon by the chiefs, they joined the guard, who fired as they retreated. Cook, having at length reached the margin of the water, between the fire of the boats, waved with his hat for them to cease firing and come in; and while he was doing this, a chief from behind stabbed him with one of our iron daggers, just under the shoulder-blade, and it passed quite through his body. Cook fell with his face in the water, and immediately expired. Mr. Phillips, not being able any longer to use his fusee, drew his sword, and engaging the chief whom he saw kill Cook, soon despatched him. His guard in the mean time were all killed but two, and they had plunged into the water, and were swimming to the boats. He stood thus for some time the butt of all their force, and being as complete in the use of his sword, as he was accomplished, his noble achievements struck the barbarians with awe; but being wounded, and growing faint from loss of blood and excessive action, he plunged into the sea with his sword in his hand, and swam to

the boats; where, however, he was scarcely taken on board, before somebody saw one of the marines, that had swum from the shore, lying flat upon the bottom. Phillips, hearing this, ran aft, threw himself in after him, and brought him up with him to the surface of the water, and both were taken in.

"The boats had hitherto kept up a very hot fire, and, lying off without the reach of any weapon but stones, had received no damage, and, being fully at leisure to keep up an unremitted and uniform action, made great havoc among the Indians, particularly among the chiefs, who stood foremost in the crowd and were most exposed; but whether it was from their bravery, or ignorance of the real cause that deprived so many of them of life, that they made such a stand, may be questioned, since it is certain that they in general, if not universally, understood heretofore, that it was the fire only of our arms that destroyed them. This opinion seems to be strengthened by the circumstance of the large, thick mats, they were observed to wear, which were also constantly kept wet; and, furthermore, the Indian that Cook fired at with discovered no fear, when he found his it, saying in their language, when he the bystanders, that no fire had to his may be supposed at least to

have had some influence. It is, however, certain, whether from one or both these causes, that the numbers that fell made no apparent impression on those who survived; they were immediately taken off, and had their places supplied in a constant succession.

"Lieutenant Gore, who commanded as first lieutenant, under Cook in the Resolution, which lay opposite the place where this attack was made, perceiving with his glass that the guard on shore was cut off, and that Cook had fallen, immediately passed a spring upon one of the cables, and, bringing the ship's starboard guns to bear, fired two round shot over the boats into the middle of the crowd; and both the thunder of the cannon, and the effects of the shot, operated so powerfully, that it produced a most precipitate retreat from the shore to the town.

"Our mast that was repairing at Kearakekua, and our astronomical tents, were protected only by a corporal and six marines, exclusive of the carpenters at work upon it, and demanded immediate protection. As soon, therefore, as the people were refreshed with some grog, and reinforced, they were ordered thither. In the mean time the marine, who had been taken up by Mr. Phillips, discovered returning life, and seemed in a way to recover, and we found Mr.

Phillips's wound not dangerous, though very bad. We also observed at Kiverua, that our dead were drawn off by the Indians, which was a mortifying sight; but after the boats were gone they did it in spite of our cannon, which were firing at them several minutes. They had no sooner effected this matter, than they retired to the hills to avoid our shot. The expedition to Kiverua had taken up about an hour and a half, and we lost, besides Cook, a corporal and three marines.

"Notwithstanding the dispatch that was used in sending a force to Kearakekua, the small party there were already attacked before their arrival, but by an excellent manœuvre of taking possession of the Morai, they defended themselves without any material damage, until the succours came. The natives did not attempt to molest the boats in their debarkation of our people, which we much wondered at, and they soon joined the others upon the Morai, amounting in the whole to about sixty. Mr. Phillips, notwithstanding his wound, was present, and in conjunction with Lieutenant King, carried the chief command. The plan was to act only defensively, until we could get our mast into the water, to tow off, and our tents into the boats; and as soon as that was effect-

ed, to return on board. This we did in about an hour's time, but not without killing a number of the natives, who resolutely attacked us, and endeavoured to mount the walls of the Morai, where they were lowest; but being opposed with our skill in such modes of attack, and the great superiority of our arms, they were even repulsed with loss, and at length retreated among the houses adjacent to the Morai, which affording a good opportunity to retreat to our boats, we embraced it, and got off all well. Our mast was taken on the booms, and repaired there, though to disadvantage."

This account is the more valuable, as having been drawn up by one, who had a personal knowledge of all that passed. Neither Captain King, nor Captain Burney, each of whom has described the transactions, was on shore with Cook. Nor indeed, as hinted above, can it be inferred with certainty from anything Ledyard says, that he was in that part of the fray. But the confidence and particularity with which he speaks would seem to indicate actual observation. We have Captain Burney's testimony, moreover, which may be deemed conclusive. He says, that "Cook landed with Lieutenant Molesworth Phillips of the marines, Serjeant Gibson, Corporals Thomas and Ledyard, and

six private marines, being in the whole eleven persons."* It follows, that Ledyard must have been near Cook from the time he left the ship till he was killed, and that he heard and saw distinctly all that happened. Four marines were killed, three wounded, and three escaped unhurt, of which last number he was one.

After this melancholy catastrophe, the ships remained six days in the harbour, till the defective mast was repaired, and a supply of water obtained. This latter was effected with difficulty, however, as the watering parties were repeatedly assailed by the natives, and skirmishes ensued. It may well be imagined, therefore, that the hour of departure was hailed with joy by all on board. They passed ten days more among the islands, and, the water on board being bad, a fresh supply was procured at the island of Atui. The season being now advanced, and everything in readiness, they launched out again into the great ocean, pursuing a northerly course, with the design of making a second attempt to explore the polar regions in search of a northwest passage. In six weeks they approached the shore of Kamtschatka, and anchored in the

*Chronological History of North-eastern Voyages of Discovery, p. 260.

harbour of St. Peter and St. Paul. The result of the expedition is well known. They passed through Bering's Strait, and groped among islands of ice in a high latitude, but with no better success than the year before. They touched again at Kamtschatka on their return, and, proceeding by the way of China and the Cape of Good Hope, they reached England, after an absence of four years and three months.

Many facts and speculations in our traveller's journal, not a little curious in themselves, have been omitted in the preceding sketch, because they would occupy a space not consistent with the nature or limits of the present memoir. I am tempted, however, in this connection, to quote his remarks on the mode in which the South Sea Islands were probably first peopled. The subject has since been much discussed by philosophers and geographers, but no one before him had examined it with views so much enlarged by experience and observation; and it is believed he was the first to advance the opinion, that the inhabitants of those islands, scattered as they are through an ocean of vast extent, "were derived from one common origin." Of this he will not allow that there is any room for doubt, and the only

question is, whether they came from Asia or America. Whichever way this question may be answered, there will remain objections not easy to be removed, if we attempt to find out a resemblance in every peculiarity of character and manners, or to explain obvious differences. He does not pretend to solve the problem, but only to throw out such hints illustrative of the subject as occurred to him, and as tend to establish the possibility, that an emigration from either of the continents might have reached to all the islands, without any other means of transportation, than such as the people themselves possessed.

"The New Zealanders say their ancestors came from an island called Hawyjee; now Owyhee, as we carelessly pronounce it, is pronounced by its inhabitants Hawyhee. This is a curious circumstance, and admits of a presumption, that the island of Owyhee, or Hawyhee, is the island from which the New Zealanders originally emigrated. It supersedes analogical evidence. But Owyhee is in twenty north, and New Zealand is in forty south, and not above three hundred leagues distant from the southern parts of New Holland, and is besides situated in the latitudes of variable winds, which admit of emigrations from any

quarter. On the other hand, the languages of Owyhee and New Zealand were originally the same, and as much alike as that of Otaheite and New Zealand; not to mention other circumstances of the like kind. Whereas the languages at New Zealand and New Holland have very little or no resemblance to each other. This difference, with many others, between New Zealand and New Holland, cannot be reconciled; but the difficulties that may arise from considering the distance between New Zealand and Owyhee may be, as there are clusters of islands that we know of, and there may be others unknown, that occupy, at no great distance from each other, the intermediate ocean from Owyhee to New Zealand. The obvious reasonings, that would be used to conclude the New Zealanders emigrants from Owyhee, would be, first, to suppose them from the Friendly Isles, then the Society Isles, and then the Sandwich Isles; and the gradation thus formed is very rational and argumentative, because all their manners and customs have the same cast. Suppose, then, that the islands we have mentioned were peopled from Owyhee, and suppose it to be the first island settled, the second and ultimate question is, from which of the continents, America or Asia? Its situa-

tion respecting America, and the trade winds, strongly intimate from that continent, for it is twice the distance from Asia that it is from America; and a ship, fitted for the purpose at China, which is in a parallel latitude, would be more than two months in reaching it, and we must suppose the emigrations that respect these people to have been merely fortuitous; but a canoe, driven by stress of weather from the southern part of California, or the coast of New Galicia, the opposite parallel, would reach Owyhee in a direct course in half the time or less. The distance is about nine hundred leagues, and we saw people at the island Watteeoo, who had been driven from Otaheite there, which is five hundred leagues.

" But if we suppose Owyhee peopled from South America, we shall be somewhat disappointed in supporting the conjecture by arguments, that respect their manners and customs, and those of the Californians, Mexicans, Peruvians, or Chilians. There is but a faint analogy, compared with that which we should find on the southeastern coasts of Asia in these respects. Let us then, without attending to the few analogical customs, that subsist between the Owyheeans and the South Americans, reverse our system of emigration. Sup-

pose the inhabitants of the Sandwich Islands to have come from the Society Islands, and those from the Friendly Isles, and the New Zealanders from them; the inhabitants of the Friendly Isles from New Caledonia, from the New Hebrides, New Guinea, Celebes, Borneo, Java, or Sumatra, and finally from the continent at Malacca. Supposing the emigration we are now speaking of to have taken this course, the most apparent argument in its favour is, the proximity of the several islands to each other, from the Friendly Isles to the continent; but its sufficiency will abate, if we consider emigrations, as I think they are, oftener the effects of accident than previous intention, especially when out of sight of land. Besides, it is evident from ocular proof, that, though New Guinea and New Holland are very near to each other, there has never been any intercourse between them; and yet, from many appearances, there seems to have been one between New Guinea, the New Hebrides, and the Friendly Isles, although farther distant from each other. There is indeed no remarkable similarity in the people, customs, and manners of New Guinea and the Friendly Isles, but an exact conformity between the domestic animals and vegetable productions of

both countries. Some fruits, that we call tropical, are peculiar to all places within the tropics; but bread-fruit is nowhere known, but among these islands and the islands further northward on the coast of Asia. It is not known at New Holland, but it is at New Guinea. Therefore, wherever I can find this bread-fruit in particular, I shall suppose an intercourse to have once subsisted, and the more so, when I find a correspondent agreement between the animals of different places; and it ought to be remembered also, that there are no other animals throughout those islands, unless they are near the continent; those remote islands have no other. It is the same with their vegetables. The remote islands have no water melons, guavas, and such other fruits.

"These observations will essentially apply to the circumstances of emigration. A canoe, in passing along its own coast, or visiting a neighbouring island, would take on board a hog, a dog, a fowl, and bread fruit, for subsistence, in preference to a monkey, a snake, or a guava; and if the canoe is driven accidentally on some foreign island, they turn to greater advantage."

Since these remarks were written, there have been many opportunities for further discovery, but very little has been added to the stock of

knowledge on the subject. The missionaries, during a residence of thirty years in the Society Islands, have found nothing among the traditions or customs of the people, from which their origin can be deduced. It was supposed for a time, that the languages of the islanders in the Pacific Ocean would afford a clue, that might lead to a solution of the difficulty; but hitherto all inquiries in this quarter have failed, and contributed rather to confirm than diminish the uncertainty which existed at first. It is proved, that in all the islands, constituting that portion of the globe denominated in recent geography Polynesia, a multitude of dialects prevail, which have so near an affinity to each other, as to make it demonstratively certain, that they all sprang from the same stock. It is moreover remarkable, that none of these dialects, which has as yet been examined, bears any analogy to other known languages, except those in use among the natives of these islands. It is true, that in the Friendly Islands, New Zealand, and some others bordering on the Asiatic islands, a few Malayan words are intermixed with the Polynesian, but so sparingly as to make a very small part only of the whole, and with characteristics plainly indicating their foreign origin. If we

may judge from the grammars prepared by the missionaries, as well as from their own declarations, very few languages are more widely different in their principles, structure, and vocabulary, than the Malayan and Polynesian. No argument, therefore, drawn from the analogy of languages, any more than from striking traits of character in the people, can be urged to prove the Polynesians to have come originally from the islands on the south of Asia.

The same may be said in regard to northern Asia, and South America. No resemblances in language have been discovered, and very slight ones only in prevailing customs; and these, after all, may be accidental. Malte-Brun is opposed to the theory of an emigration from South America, on the ground, that the islands nearest the coast are not inhabited. But this reason has very little weight. In the first place, these islands are small, and would thus be the less likely to be met by canoes, floating at random over the ocean, which was undoubtedly the condition of the first emigrants; and in the next place, they are sterile, and might not have afforded subsistence to people landing on them. Again, these islands are not in clusters, but scattered remotely from each other, and many casualties may be ima-

gined by which settlers on them might have been cut off, even if accident had thrown them there. In short, little can be said, as to the mode of the first peopling of the Polynesian islands, with any approach to certainty. The study of the language, which the missionaries are now prosecuting, will open a new channel of investigation, from which some favourable results may be hoped. Nothing will probably put the question beyond controversy, but the discovery of a language among some of the tribes of Asia, or America, which bears a close resemblance to the Polynesian. As no written memorials of the languages of these tribes remain, if it should have happened, that the nation from which the islanders descended has become extinct, together with its language, which is most likely to be the case, the problem must go down to future ages, a theme only for ingenious conjecture and speculation. When the prevalence of the trade wind is considered, always setting towards the west, the probability of a migration from America is much stronger, than of one from Asia. Ledyard considers the emigration to have been comparatively recent, because the islands are volcanic, having been formed by violent eruptions from the earth; and many centuries must

have elapsed after such an event, before they could be habitable.

The journal, which has now passed under our notice, can in no respect be regarded as a complete narrative of Cook's Third Voyage. It was written, as heretofore stated, under many disadvantages, in haste, and without the aid of the author's original notes; and to all appearance the manuscript was printed without his correction and supervision. The part prepared by himself breaks off, indeed, more than a year before the end of the voyage, and was probably filled out by the publisher from the brief account before printed in England. Ledyard's descriptions agree in the main, however, with those contained in the large work, which afterwards appeared under the authority of the Admiralty. Occasional differences will of course naturally be expected, when we take into view the different circumstances under which the commanding officer, and a corporal of marines, would observe the objects and events they described. The latter was often in situations to witness and contemplate occurrences, which could not come to the knowledge of the former, and which, to a mind acute and observing like his, would make impres-

sions worthy to be recorded. Nor is it any disparagement of the other writers to say, that several of Ledyard's descriptions of the manners and peculiarities of the natives, are written with a vivacity, discrimination, and force, which they have not equalled. He utters his own sentiments with a boldness, and expresses himself with a confidence, that convince us of his sincerity, honest zeal, and mental vigor, even when we cannot assent to his opinions. He sometimes censures his superiors in office with a freedom not altogether commendable, and imagines them to have been actuated by motives, which could scarcely exist. This may be perceived in the tone which pervades some of the extracts quoted above. His station was not one in which he could be acquainted with the views and plans of the commander, and yet his inquisitive temper, and high sense of his dignity as a man, prompted him to think for himself, and put much reliance in the conclusions of his own mind. When these were thwarted, as they often would be, it was natural that he should suppose his superiors in an error, especially if ill consequences resulted from their measures.

He was accustomed to speak with high res-

pect of Captain Cook, although he thought his proceedings towards the natives sometimes rash, and even unjustifiable. But this was no more than has been thought by many others. Nobody has ever doubted the purity of Cook's intentions, or his humanity, but he adopted a system of conduct towards the savages, especially in punishing slight offences, the policy and good effects of which were less obvious to others than to himself. Pilfering was so universal in all the South Sea islands, that it was hardly recognised in the moral code of the natives as an offence, much less a crime; yet he invariably punished transgressions of this kind with severity. A long course of experience had confirmed the navigator in this system, and he practised it usually with success.

We have seen how he applied it in the case of Feenou, who stole the peacocks at Tongataboo, and many similar instances might be cited. It was his rigid adherence to this course, in fact, which at last caused his death; for he landed at Kiverua with the express purpose of enticing the old king on board, that he might retain him there as a hostage, till the stolen boat should be given up. The opinions of Ledyard on this head, therefore, though sometimes expressed with earnestness, argue no disrespect or want

of esteem for the commander, whom he honoured for the high station to which his merits had raised him, and whom he admired for his many great and good qualities.

CHAPTER VI.

Ledyard returns to America.—Interview with his mother after an absence of eight years.—Passes the winter in Hartford, and writes his Journal of Cook's Voyage.—Visits New York and Philadelphia to concert with the merchants a plan of a commercial expedition.—Robert Morris agrees to engage in a trading voyage, under his direction, to the North-west Coast.—Proceeds to Boston, and afterwards to New London and New York, to procure a vessel for the purpose.—Failure of the enterprise, after a year had been spent in fruitless attempts to carry it into effect.—Letters to his mother.—Makes a trial in New London to enlist the merchants of that place in his scheme.—Was the first to propose a voyage for a mercantile adventure to the Northwest Coast.—Sails for Cadiz.—Letters from that city containing political remarks.—Sails for L'Orient.—Makes an agreement with a company of merchants there to aid him in such a voyage as he had proposed in America.—After eight months' preparation it is given up.—Goes to Paris.

DURING the two years succeeding our traveller's arrival in England from Cook's last expedition, he continued in the navy; but what rank he held, or on what stations he served, cannot now be ascertained. It is only known, that he refused to be attached to any of the squadrons, which came out to America, giving as a reason, that he would not appear in arms against his native country. Growing weary, however, of a mode of life little suited to his disposition, unless on some adventurous enterprise, like that from which he had lately re-

turned, his thoughts began to wander homeward, and to dwell on the scenes of his youthful days. Apparently conquering the scruples, which he had hitherto urged as the motives of his reluctance, he sought the first opportunity to be transferred to the American station, and in December, 1782, we find him on board a British man-of-war in Huntington Bay, Long Island Sound.

It was natural that his first impulse should be to visit his mother, who lived at Southold. Ostensibly for this purpose he obtained permission of seven days' absence from the ship, but evidently intending to return no more. Long Island was then in the possession of the British. He remained but a short time among his old acquaintances at Huntington, where, it will be recollected, in his theological tour ten years before, he had "feasted twelve days on Mr. Prime's great library." From this place he hastened to Southold, and the first interview with his mother is represented as affecting. She kept a boarding-house, which was at that time occupied chiefly by British officers. He rode up to the door, alighted, went in, and asked if he could be accommodated in her house as a lodger. She replied that he could, and showed him a room into which his baggage was

conveyed. After having adjusted his dress, he came out and took a seat by the fire, in company with several other officers, without making himself known to his mother, or entering into conversation with any person. She frequently passed and repassed through the room, and her eye was observed to be attracted towards him with more than usual attention. He still remained silent. At last, after looking at him steadily for some minutes, she deliberately put on her spectacles, approached nearer to him, begging his pardon for her rudeness, and telling him, that he so much resembled a son of hers, who had been absent eight years, that she could not resist her inclination to view him more closely. The scene that followed may be imagined, but not described; for Ledyard had a tender heart, and affection for his mother was among its deepest and most constant emotions.

As he had already resolved to quit the British service, being persuaded that no principles of justice or honour could make it his duty to act with the enemies of his country, he thought it prudent, before the seven days had expired, to leave his mother's house, and go over to the continent. The recollections of his childhood detained him a short time at New London and

Groton, and he then proceeded to Hartford, where, after a ten years' wandering in the remotest corners of the globe, he received the cordial greetings of his early friends, and found a kind home under the roof of his uncle and former guardian. His feelings on this occasion will be understood from his remarks in a letter, written shortly after he reached Hartford, "You will be surprised to hear of my being at Hartford; I am surprised myself. I made my escape from the British at Huntington Bay. I am now at Mr. Seymour's, and as happy as need be. I have a little cash, two coats, three waistcoats, six pair of stockings, and half a dozen ruffled shirts. I am a violent whig and a violent tory. Many are my acquaintances. I eat and drink when I am asked, and visit when I am invited; in short, I generally do as I am bid. All I want of my friends is friendship; possessed of that, I am happy." In writing to other persons he expresses similar satisfaction, and although, in alluding to the toils and sufferings he had undergone, he declares himself to have been worn down by them to such a degree, as to make his person so "perfect a contrast to beauty or elegance, that Hogarth himself could not deform it;" yet he writes with a gaiety and playfulness, which show the sor-

rows of the past to have been forgotten in the felicity of the present, and that no gloomy anticipations of the future were allowed to mingle their alloy.

In Hartford he remained four months, that is, from the first of January till about the first of May, in which period he wrote the Journal of Cook's Voyage. In this occupation, and in visiting his friends, he passed the winter. His restless spirit could be tranquil no longer. He had great projects in view, which he was impatient to see executed. New adventures courted his fancy, and flattering hopes as usual pressed him forward with an ardent, determined, and ceaseless zeal. Bidding adieu to his friends in Hartford, he repaired to New York, where he unfolded his plans to such persons as he thought might be induced to patronize them; but not meeting with encouragement adequate to his sanguine expectations, he hastened onward to Philadelphia. He had but just arrived in that city, when he described his condition to his cousin, Dr. Isaac Ledyard, in a manner so characteristic, that no apology will be necessary for quoting the letter in full.

"The day after I parted with you, I took the Bordenton route, and the next morning landed at the Crooked Billet, where I breakfasted, and

sallied out to view the nakedness of things here. I first went to McClanagan; he had no navigation; next, to two other houses, but to no purpose. I then went among the shipping, and examined them pretty thoroughly. I doubt that I should even be put to it to get to sea before the mast. The most of the shipping here are foreigners. Sixteen sail of seven different maritime powers, arrived a few days ago. Fourteen sailors went out to the northward the morning I arrived, for want of employ, and numbers are strolling the docks on the same account. There is at present little home navigation.

" After a walk of about four hours I returned to my quarters, asked for a room to change my dress, and went up and counted my cash; turned it over and looked at it; shook it in my hand; recounted it, and found two French crowns, half-a-crown, one-fourth of a dollar, one-eighth of a dollar, and just twelve coppers. Shall I visit H.'s? I looked at my stockings; they will do;—my shoes—if I look that way, my two crowns and I shall part. We did part; —I put my new pumps on, washed, shaved, and went to H.'s, where I had determined not to go. Mr. H. is now waiting for his horse; he is going to Princeton. This will go by him.

I am at a loss whether to say anything about money here, or depend upon this letter meeting you at Princeton, wait the return of Mr. H., the chance he has of seeing you, or—I don't know what to do.—I am determined. Send me, either by Mr. H. or the first conveyance—some cash. Adieu."

In this state of embarrassment he continued for several days, seeking employment without success, mortified at the defeat of all his purposes, and chagrined that his schemes should be so coldly received by those whom he had fondly hoped would understand and promote them. By another letter, however, written two or three weeks after the above, it would appear, that a gleam of light was breaking in upon him, and that his perseverance had not been wholly fruitless. He writes again to his cousin:

"It is uncertain by what medium of conveyance this may reach you. I design it for the Amboy House, and thence to Middletown. A duplicate will be directed to Princeton. It is abundantly manifest, that this argues anxiety, and of so intense a kind too, as to prompt a wish for the possibility of the annihilation of time and distance. I have been so often the sport of fortune, that I durst hardly credit the present

dawn of bright prospects. But it is a fact, that the Honourable Robert Morris is disposed to give me a ship to go to the North Pacific Ocean. I have had two interviews with him at the Finance Office, and to-morrow I expect a conclusive one. What a noble hold he instantly took of the enterprise! I have been two days, at his request, drawing up a minute detail of a plan, and an estimate of the outfits, which I shall present him with to-morrow; and I am pleased to find, that it will be two thousand pounds less than one of his own. I take the lead of the greatest commercial enterprise, that has ever been embarked on in this country; and one of the first moment, as it respects the trade of America. If the affair is concluded on, as I expect it will be, it is probable I shall set off for New England, to procure seamen, or a ship, or both. Morris is wrapt up in the idea of Yankee sailors.

"Necessity has overcome my delicacy. I have unbosomed myself to H. and laid my poverty open to him. He has relieved me for the present, which I have told him to draw on you for. Send me some money, for Heaven's sake, lest the laurel, now suspended over the brows of your friend, should fall irrecoverably into the dust. Adieu."

The enterprise to which he alludes in this letter, as having been concerted with Mr. Morris, and which had occupied his thoughts ever since his return from Cook's expedition, was a trading voyage to the Northwest Coast. At this time no such mercantile adventure had been attempted, either in this country or Europe, nor is it known that anything of the kind had even been contemplated. Ledyard's knowledge of the resources of the Northwest Coast in furs, derived from his observations while there, particularly at Nootka Sound and the Russian establishment on the island of Onalaska, together with the enormous advances which he had seen paid in Canton on the original cost of this article, had convinced him that great profits might be realized by a voyage, fitted out expressly for this trade. Hitherto no market had been opened to the natives, by which they could dispose of the superabundance of their furs, or receive such articles in exchange, as might suit their fancy or convenience; hence the furs could be purchased extremely low, and paid for in commodities of little intrinsic value, and at such prices as the vendor might choose to affix. It was clear, therefore, in his mind, that they, who should first engage in this trade, would reap immense profits by their earliest

efforts, and at the same time gain such knowledge and experience, as would enable them to pursue it for years with advantages superior to any that could be commanded by the competitors, who might be drawn into the same channel of commerce.

So strong had grown his confidence in the accuracy of his opinions, by long reflection on the subject, and such was the eagerness of his desire to prove the truth of his theory by actual experiment, that he applied the whole energy of his mind and character to the task of creating an interest in his project among the merchants, who had the means of carrying it into effect, and without whose patronage nothing could be done. In New York he was unsuccessful; his scheme was called wild and visionary, and set down as bearing the marks rather of a warm imagination, and sanguine temperament, than of a sober and mature judgment. No merchant was found willing to hazard his money, or his reputation, in an adventure so novel in its kind, and so questionable in its promise, a scheme not only untried, but never before thought of. His first inquiries in Philadelphia, met with no better favour, till Mr. Robert Morris, with an enlargement of mind and purpose, which charac-

terized his undertakings, entered into his views, and made arrangements to furnish the outfits of a voyage, according to the plan he drew up.

The first thing to be done was to procure a ship suitable for such a voyage. At that time there was none unemployed in Philadelphia, and Ledyard was despatched to Boston, where it was thought a purchase might speedily be effected, and where progress was actually made in the preparation of a vessel for this purpose; but, for some cause not now known, it was taken for a voyage of a different kind. He next proceeded to New London, where the Continental frigate Trumbull, was engaged for the voyage; but this ship was afterwards diverted to another adventure, suggested by this plan. The Count d'Artois, a large French ship, then lying in the harbour of New London, was next thought of, but was finally otherwise destined. Again, a ship in New York, of about three hundred tons, was provided; but on examination it proved to be so old and defective, that it was condemned as unsafe for a voyage of such length and hazard. The season was by this time too far advanced, to think of prosecuting the voyage before the next spring. Meantime, Mr. Daniel Parker was employed to purchase a ship in New York,

and to have it in readiness as soon as the favourable season for its sailing should arrive. A ship was procured accordingly, but the outfits were delayed from time to time, till the winter passed by, and then the spring, and at last it was sent on an adventure to Canton. Thus a year was spent, in a vexatious and fruitless struggle to overcome difficulties, which thickened as he advanced, till his patience, and that of Mr. Morris also, would seem to have been exhausted, for the voyage was altogether abandoned.

While he was in New London, negociating for the ship Trumbull, after his return from Boston, he wrote a letter to his mother, from which an extract here follows :—

"This is the first opportunity, in reality, which I have had of writing to you, since I have been in this country. My ambition to do every thing, which my disposition as a man, and my relative character as a citizen, and, more tenderly, as the leading descendant of a broken and distressed family, should prompt me to do, has engaged me in every kind of speculation, which afforded the least probability of advancing my interest, my happiness, or the happiness of my friends. These different engagements have led me into different condi-

tions; sometimes I have been elated with hope, sometimes depressed with disappointment and distress. I postponed informing you of my circumstances, indulging the constant hope of their soon being better, until which time I was determined you should not know anything particularly concerning me. If that time is now arrived, it has been more from the influence of a kind Providence, than my own merits. My prospects at present are a voyage to the East Indies, and eventually round the world. It will be of two or three years' duration. If I am successful, I shall not have occasion to absent myself any more from my friends; but, above all, I hope to have it in my power to minister to the wants of a beloved parent, and others who languish and fade in obscurity. My dear sisters engage my tenderest love, and solicitude for their future welfare. My best wish is, that they may be educated and disposed of, suitably to the beauty of their persons, and their excellent hearts, and that I could be instrumental in conferring such a kindness. I beg my brotherly salutations to them. Tell them I long to strew roses in their laps, and branches of palm beneath their feet."

It ought to be recorded in this place, that while Ledyard was in New York, anxiously

waiting for a vessel, his embarrassments, occasioned by the want of money, were often relieved, in a spirit of great kindness, by Mr. Comfort Sands. This gentleman became acquainted with him in Philadelphia, and early approved and promoted the enterprise, which he had in contemplation; he proposed sending an adventure by the same voyage, and during the whole preparation rendered him essential services, for which it is believed he never received any other returns, than such as always attend the consciousness of benevolent acts, and of having aided the advancement of a large and useful design.

Not discouraged by the ill fortune which he had so signally experienced, Ledyard resolved not to relinquish his purpose till he had made other trials to carry it forward. He repaired to New London, and suggested the same adventure to persons of commercial pursuits in that port. He was particularly strenuous in persuading Captain Deshon, who owned a fine new ship, then lying in the harbour, and well constructed for such a voyage, to embark with him in a trading expedition to the Northwest Coast. Captain Deshon was the nephew of the commander of the vessel in which Ledyard sailed to Gibraltar, and although at that

time a youth, he was himself on board in the service of his uncle. A friendship had ever afterwards subsisted between the two voyagers, and Captain Deshon was now willing to join with his friend in any mercantile adventure, which should seem to him practicable, safe, and affording a reasonable prospect of gain. But Ledyard drew so glowing a picture of the advantages to be derived from his projected voyage, the trifling value of the articles necessary for an outward cargo, and the immense advances that would be received on the price of the articles purchased; in short, his enthusiasm gave so bright a colouring to his representations, and such amplitude to his hopes, that Captain Deshon could not so far resist the dictates of prudence, as to participate in feelings and views, which he deemed little short of romantic, and as more strongly tinged with the native warmth of his character, than with that trait of mind, which weighs and deliberates cautiously before it resolves. It is needless to add, that, under these impressions, he could not prevail on himself to second his friend's wishes; yet he was afterwards heard to say, that Ledyard's account, in its minutest details, was verified by the first voyages of that kind from the United States, and that he had often regretted his not having listened to him,

and prosecuted the voyage in compliance with his solicitation. As far as can be ascertained, Ledyard's views of the subject, both as unfolded in the transactions with Mr. Morris and with Captain Deshon, accorded exactly with those acted upon by the first adventurers, who were rewarded with extraordinary success. It was a part of his plan to purchase lands of the natives, and establish a factory, or colony, for the purpose of a continued intercourse and trade.

Weary of making fruitless applications in his own country, Ledyard determined to embark for Europe, where he might expect better patronage from larger capitalists, and in a wider field of commercial activity. Mr. Morris had made him some compensation for the time he had spent in his service, and favoured him with several letters of recommendation to eminent merchants abroad, particularly in France. He took passage in a vessel from New London, bound to Cadiz. On the first of June, 1784, he wrote as follows to his mother:—

"Since I saw you last, I have passed through a great many difficulties and disappointments, which my most intimate friends are, and must be, for the present, at least, unacquainted with, as it will answer no good purpose to break their repose, or add to my cares, by reflecting on

what is past, and thence anticipating evil. You have no doubt heard of my very great disappointment at New York. For a moment, all the fortitude that ten years' misfortune had taught me, could hardly support me. I am now very well in health. This will probably be the last letter I shall write you from this country. I shall sail within twelve days for Spain, whence I expect to go to France, and there again to renew the business I was so unfortunate in at New York. If I succeed in my wishes, it may be two or three years before I return. In this interim, I pray you to give me your blessing and your prayers. My sisters I hope are well, and beg them to accept a brother's love. Please to present my kind love to my brothers. May that Being, who is infinitely great and infinitely good, be the friend of them, and of us all."

He sailed for Spain, as here intimated, shortly after writing this letter, having been the first, whether in America or Europe, to suggest a scheme of trade with the Northwest Coast, which has since proved to be a very lucrative field of commerce to merchants in both hemispheres. It was more than a year after his earliest application to the merchants in New York, before any expedition of the kind was fitted out from Europe. The first voyage from the United

States to the Northwest Coast was in the ship Columbia, of three hundred tons, which sailed from Boston under the command of Captain John Kendrick, about three years after Ledyard's visit to that place, in search of a ship for Mr. Morris. He may justly be considered, therefore, the first projector of this branch of commerce. Captain Kendrick so far adopted his ulterior purpose, as to purchase lands of the natives, with a view of founding a colony there, when a proper occasion should offer. To this end he took formal deeds of the land, confirmed by the signs manual of the chiefs, who claimed the territory.* To some of his friends, Ledyard mentioned his intention of leaving the ship on the coast, when the cargo should be obtained, and exploring the country over land from Nootka Sound, or some point farther north, across to the Mississippi and Ohio rivers, thus traversing the whole space between the Pacific and Atlantic oceans. Meantime the vessel was to proceed to China, and thence to return and meet him in New York, ready for another voyage.

* The original deeds are now in the office of the Secretary of State in Washington. In company with the *Columbia* was the *Washington*, a vessel of one hundred tons burden, commanded by Captain Robert Gray.

But all the fine prospects, which he had dwelt upon in anticipation, are to be given up for the present, and we must follow him to Europe. The passage to Cadiz was favourable and expeditious. He does not seem to have had any special design in visiting Cadiz, in reference to the main object of his crossing the Atlantic. This destination probably awaited him, in consequence of an opportunity presenting itself of a more direct passage to that port than to any other in the south of Europe. L'Orient was the city which he intended to visit, and in which he had been encouraged to look for patrons of his projected enterprise. He had been furnished with letters to wealthy and enterprising merchants there, and he made all haste to be on the spot. Various causes of delay kept him in Cadiz more than a month. This time he filled up as well as he could, in gaining information of the place, of its resources and trade, and of the manners and character of the people. He also endeavoured to drive away the melancholy thoughts, incident to the anxiety of his situation, by mingling in social circles, and contriving to be entertained by the public amusements, that were much frequented by all ranks of people. On the sixteenth of August he wrote thus from Cadiz to Dr. Ledyard :—

"Just as I was seated, and had dated my letter, the carriage of General O'Reilly hove in view, a clumsy, gothic vehicle, dragged by five jaded mules to the bull-fight. Who is General O'Reilly? A poor, migrating, Irish cadet; a soldier that was scalded at the storm of Gibraltar. O'Reilly is to Cadiz, and all within his jurisdiction, which consists of two provinces, what Czar Peter was to Russia. The reform he has made in the minutest parts of his government, as well as the most important, is looked upon as a phenomenon in this country. He has, with a boldness that characterizes an enterprising commander and legislator, even struck at those old habits among a people, so dangerous to be meddled with. Envy is the natural concomitant of such merit, and O'Reilly has probably greater friends and enemies at the court of Madrid, than any other character in the kingdom; and both parties had a fair opportunity of contesting their ascendancy, after the miscarriage of the late descent against the Moors; but his conquering his court enemies at home fully compensated that misfortune abroad, and confirmed his fame, nay, added to its lustre.* To execute all these great matters,

* This alludes to an attack by the Spaniards on Algiers in the year 1775. A formidable armament of six ships of the line,

O'Reilly is not the man you would suppose. His education is contracted; he is capricious, severe, and arrogant; ordinary in his person, and forbidding in his address.

"The exhibition of the bull-fights is in a spacious ampitheatre, that will accommodate twelve thousand spectators. The horsemen display more skill and courage than the footmen. But it is a barbarous amusement. There are many Irish inhabitants here, all of whom are particularly friendly to Americans. I am now writing at the house of Mr. Harrison, handsomely situated on the side of the Alameda. I take a family dinner with him to-day, having already taken a formal one. The British consul also receives me with great politeness. But what I am doing among these gentry, with only half a dollar and four reals in my pocket, you must, with me, wait for time to develop. I shall soon leave this place for France, and

twelve frigates, a large number of smaller vessels, and twenty-five thousand men, all under the command of the Conde de O'Reilly, formed that expedition. A large part of the army was landed, and a partial battle ensued, in which the Spaniards met with a signal and most disgraceful defeat. Severe censures were passed on O'Reilly, and a general spirit of indignation existed against him throughout Spain; but the weight of his talents, and his influence at court, enabled him to triumph over his enemies, and to sustain himself in the highest stations.

my route will be either up the Mediterranean to Marseilles, and thence on the grand canal west to Bordeaux, or along the coast of Spain and Portugal by sea. I yesterday conversed with an Englishman, who is commissioned to treat privately with our States in behalf of the Emperor of Morocco; but if I can persuade him to send his Arabic commission back, and join me with his cash and importance at Bordeaux, or Nantz—. The preliminary step is accomplished, and he is now somewhere in the town, as busy in the affair as a dozen such heads as mine could be."

Since no more is heard of this commissioner from the Emperor of Morocco, it is presumed the preliminary step was the only one taken in the business. Ledyard remained in Cadiz, apparently waiting for a passage either to Marseilles, or to some port in the west of France, as chance might offer. He wrote to his friends, communicating his observations on what passed around him, but said little of his own circumstances or prospects. The remarks now about to be quoted, are contained in a letter written to his correspondent in America, after he had been two weeks at Cadiz, and are not more curious for their singularity, than for the historical hints they convey, in regard to the state

of knowledge and feeling, which then prevailed in the south of Europe, respecting the United States:—

"The people in this, as in other parts of Europe, are more systematic than you [Americans] are in every thing. Here the routine of life, however varied, is still uniform, whether composed of virtue or vice, wisdom or folly. Before dinner, the merchant, mechanic, and ordinary labourer, are assiduously intent on their different employments. After dinner, they as regularly devote themselves to their several gratifications, which consist either of conversation or sleep. The opulent and polite adopt the first. At a polite table, therefore, you hear the very best things they are capable of saying. Here, then, I am told you err in your politics; I mean that kind of policy, which your independence has given birth to. The general disapprobation of your present government on this score, is the sentiment of those, who are subjects of other nations, as well as of this; but I am happy to say, that I have found no character, who any otherwise thinks ill of you. This is not a negative regard, bestowed on a people they think cannot approximate their importance, and therefore deserve pity; it is a positive one; and you may please your-

self with the assurance of its originating from your general conduct during the war. Another feather in your cap, and that not an obscure one, let me tell you, is the plain, affable, and honest deportment of your kinsfolk, who sojourn hereabout. Brother Jonathan is an agreeable singularity. These observations, which you are included in, did not come from the cabinet of Charles, or the Pope, who no doubt hate you very sincerely; the one for your laws, which he fears; and the other for your religion, which he is unwise enough to abominate.

"The great complaint, which people make against your government is the obscure, unimportant, unenergetic investitures of Congress. So strongly are they impressed with the idea of the degree of power, which Congress ought to hold, compared with what they now conceive it to be invested with, that they declare the resolve of a Boston committee commands more immediate attention in Cadiz, than a congressional one would do; observing, that although Congress claims more respectability, it only demands what it ought to have, and not what it is possessed of. They further add, that whatever embarrassments may attend the progress of a young nation, and however excusable

some exigencies may have rendered some parts of your conduct, yet surely the leading preliminaries, the first strong outlines, that form the basis of a great republic, cannot be thus lost sight of without reflecting on your councils. Have you formed even a treaty of friendship with that pestilential meteor in power, Hamet, Emperor of Morocco? No. Have you in your own right a Mediterranean passport? No. What security have you then for your Straitsmen? The savage, Hamet, knows no medium in such kind of friendship; never dreamt of such a thing as an independent neutrality. What will you do then? Eat all your flour, cod, spars, and potash, or ransom your captivated countrymen at fifteen hundred pounds a head, and lose your produce? Hamet wants your alliance. Give the snarling mastiff a bone, and while he is gnawing it you can do as you please. It is certain, that your unorganized system of government is here much talked of, and you know the consequence of these matters being much talked of. Your paltry state schisms are considered to be such vulgar errors, as a people aiming at the most refined system of government could not commit, without the imputation of perfect insanity. But adieu, politics. Indeed I know not what humour

prompted me to offer my advice to you in this way.

"If the incongruity of my letter bespeaks a perturbation of mind, it will not deceive you. It is a cloudy day with me. However, my hobby tells me it will be fair weather to-morrow; and I believe it, because I wish it. You will probably next hear from me in France. In the meantime, let me make sure of one circumstance, and if to-morrow bring its misfortunes, they will be less severe when I reflect on having said, to those I know will believe me, that no evil, till that which is esteemed the last of evils, can ever obliterate, or even obscure, that lasting affection and esteem, which I have for you and your best of brothers. My other remembrances I commit to your care."

He remained in Cadiz but a few days after this letter was written, when he somewhat unexpectedly procured a passage for Brest, on board the French ship Bourbon. It was rare for him to be out of health, but in Cadiz he was attacked with a fever, which had scarcely left him when he went to sea. While on board, he writes: "My fever was in consequence of a slight cold originally, and heightened by a fit of uncommon melancholy; but I am getting about again, and excepting a slight

debility, and some of Cook's rheumatism in my bones, I am well." His spirits were not unfrequently oppressed, when the various turns in his affairs left him inactive, with precarious means of support, and uncertain as to the future; but he took great pains to conceal the symptoms of gloom from his friends. They are occasionally discovered in his letters, rather from his forced attempts to be cheerful and gay, when it is evident by the general tenor of his thoughts, that his heart is sad, than from any formal complaints of his ill fortune, or repinings at the will of Providence. He was now visiting Europe, in the prosecution of what he deemed a noble and important enterprise; but he was going among strangers, who could only be induced to listen to his proposals, by motives of interest, and whom he must inspire with some portion of his own enthusiasm, before they could be expected to favour his schemes, or even comprehend his views. The task thus presented to him was disheartening. But however despondency might sometimes give a hue to his thoughts, he never suffered it to weaken his resolution, or repress his ardour. The great object of pursuit was never lost sight of, while his way to its accomplishment was lighted by a gleam of hope. The whole force

of his mind was now bent upon a voyage of trade and discovery to the Northwest Coast. He was powerfully impressed with the belief that such an enterprise would redound to the honour of those engaged in it, and confer new benefits upon the commercial world; and was not a little chagrined at the small encouragement which his strenuous exertions had received in his own country.

In this state of mind, it is no wonder that he should express himself in the following language on his voyage to Brest:—"I saw an English gentleman at Cadiz, who assured me, that about six months past, a ship of seven hundred tons, commissioned by the Empress of Russia, was fitted out in the English Thames on a voyage to the back parts of America; that she was armed, and commanded by a Russian, and that some of her officers were those who had been with Cook. You see the business deserves the attention I have endeavoured, and am still striving to give it; and had Morris not shrunk behind a trifling obstruction, I should have been happy, and America would this moment be triumphantly displaying her flag in the most remote and beneficial regions of commerce. I am tired of my vexations."

He arrived, after a short passage, at Brest,

and set off by land through Quimper to L'Orient. "I am now at Quimper," he writes, "and to-morrow, if my horses please, I will be in L'Orient. 'What will you do there?' The best I can. Brest is a naval arsenal, but not so respectable as I had imagined. Monsieur de Kerguelen, the great navigator, lives within nine miles of me, but a Holland consul has me by the button, and I cannot see him. The dialect of Bretagne has some resemblance both to the Irish and Welsh. But, good night; I must sleep. Tired nature will have it so." From Quimper he proceeded to L'Orient, where he immediately began to put his affairs in train.

The letters he brought with him from respectable sources, procured him a speedy acquaintance with gentlemen of the first character in the place: and his plan was received with so much approbation, that within twelve days he completed a negociation with a company of merchants, and a ship was selected for the intended voyage. Mutual engagements were entered into by the parties, and every thing seemed to wear the most promising aspect. So unaccustomed had he been to such good fortune, that he could hardly realize at first the happy issue of events as they then stood. "I

have been so much the sport of accident," said he, "that I am exceedingly suspicious. It is true, that in this L'Orient negociation, I have guarded every avenue to future disappointment, with all possible caution; yet this head I-wear is so much a dupe to my heart, and, at other times, my heart is so bewildered by my head, that in matters of business I have not much confidence in either." He then speaks of the point to which the negociation had been brought, and adds, "but here comes a *but*,—ah, these *buts;* pray Heaven they may not *but* the modicum of brains out of my head, which Morris has left there. The *but* is this. I have arrived so late in the season, that the merchants have procrastinated the equipment until next summer, and requested me to stay here till then, allowing me genteelly for that purpose; and were I but *certain*, that no cruel misfortune would eventually happen, I should be quite happy, for present appearances could not be better. Upon any consideration, it is for my interest to await the event; and as I hourly perceive the folly of repining at a disappointed wish, or, indeed, of suffering what I may happen to call misfortune, whether present or anticipated, to meet any other reception from me, than the most undaunted which my

experience can enable me to meet it with, I am determined to sit down, not despondingly, dejectedly, or supinely—what a vile row of adverbs!—but contemplatively, cheerily, and industriously. It seems decreed by somewhat, that I shall be driven about the world in a most untraversable way; but in whatever clime I may alight, my ardent desire is, that the friendship of my friends may greet me well. This done, I have drunk my cordial, and there is not a richer in France—and only in America one, which perfumed the air from M— to Amboy House."

All things being thus arranged to his mind, and having nothing to regret but the procrastination of his voyage, which he perceived to be unavoidable, he resolved to spend the winter in L'Orient, and be in readiness to commence preparations the moment that the season would admit. It was now October, and the opinion of the merchants was, that a suitable vessel could not be obtained and properly fitted out before the succeeding August. Ten months for such an object seemed a long period to Ledyard, as well indeed they might: but experience had taught him patience; and the fair prospects held out by this negociation, together with the consideration, that, by leaving France

at the close of summer, he would pass round Cape Horn into the Pacific Ocean at the most favourable season, reconciled him to the delay. In the meantime, being supplied with a liberal income by the mercantile company mentioned above, he frequented the best society in L'Orient, to whom his extensive knowledge of the world, his general intelligence, unpretending manners, and frank and generous temper, always made him acceptable. Nothing occurred to interrupt his happiness, or darken his hopes, during the four months that followed, except occasional reflections on the time that had been lost in his fruitless endeavours, and the glory that others were reaping in the field of discovery, which he ought to have been the first to explore.

"I wrote you last," says he, "that a Russian ship had been sent into that part of the vast Pacific Ocean. Four nights ago, I saw a Russian gentleman from Petersburgh, who informed me of two ships having been sent thither. In your yesterday's papers, it is said, that the ship Seahorse, belonging to the English Hudson's Bay Company, had made a voyage thither, and returned well. You see what honourable testimonies daily transpire, to evince, that I am no otherwise the mad, roman-

tic, dreaming Ledyard, than in the estimation of those who thought me so. The flame of enterprise, that I kindled in America, terminated in a flash, that bespoke little foresight or resolution in my patrons. Perseverance was an effort of understanding, which twelve rich merchants were incapable of making; and whether I now succeed or not, the obstacles I have surmounted, to reach my present attainment, infer some small merit, which I do not blush to own, among my private pleasures."

The winter soon passed away, and near the end of February, measures began to be taken for equipping the vessel for sea. It was intended, that a commission from the king should be obtained to sail on a voyage of discovery. Some advantages, it was supposed, would thus be derived to the mercantile interests of the voyage, as the vessel would be clothed with a public character, and from this circumstance ensure a greater respect from any foreigners she might fall in with, as well as enable the owners to claim, in the name of the king of France, any islands or unknown regions that might be actually discovered. A memorial, and other suitable papers, were sent to the king's ministers, applying for such a privilege, and for letters of recommendation to the European

public agents residing in those parts of the world, at which the vessel would probably touch. On the twenty-third of February, 1785, Ledyard wrote to his brothers from L'Orient: "My affairs in France are likely to prove of the greatest honour and advantage to me. I have a fine ship of four hundred tons, and in August next, I expect to sail on another voyage round the world, at the end of which, if Heaven is propitious to me, I hope to see you. In the meantime, may the God of Nature spread his mantle over you all. If I never see you more, it shall be well; if I do, it shall be well; so be happy and of good cheer." From this tone of his feelings, it is evident that his heart was light and his hopes high. Up to this point all things had proceeded according to his expectations and wishes; he had passed an agreeable winter in a social and refined circle of friends, and he began now to enjoy in anticipation the triumphs of his zeal and perseverance.

But unfortunately this flattering vision was soon to be dissipated, like the many others by which he had been elated and deceived; again was he to be made, in his own phrase, "the sport of accident;" again was the burden of a cruel disappointment to weigh on his spirits, and disturb his repose. After the date of the

above letter, we hear no more of the L'Orient negociation, except that it failed. Whether this result, so desolating to the hopes of our adventurer, was produced by the caprice of the merchants, who had united with him in the undertaking, or by any sudden change in their affairs, which took from them the ability of fulfilling their contract, or by the refusal of the government to grant such a commission as was expected, or by all these combined, is not known. It is enough, that the voyage was entirely abandoned, and Ledyard was left with no other recompense for this new vexation, than his own mortified feelings, and the prospects of a future, too gloomy even for him to contemplate unmoved. The slender stock of money, with which he landed in Europe, was completely exhausted; he could expect no more from the L'Orient merchants, nor from any other quarter; and, what afflicted him more severely than all the rest, the last resort for carrying into effect his darling plan of North-western discovery and trade, had been tried in vain. No consolation remained for his baffled purposes and wasted zeal. Yet fifteen years' experience, in buffeting the rough and sometimes perilous current of life, had taught him other lessons than those of despondency, and nerved

him for other deeds than a tame submission to the controul of untoward circumstances. His bewildering doubts, as to what course he should pursue, detained him a short time in L'Orient. He looked to Paris, as the theatre on which he would be most likely to better his fortunes; and after his concerns relative to the voyage were closed, he hastened to that capital.

CHAPTER VII.

Meets with Mr. Jefferson at Paris.—Project of a voyage to the Northwest Coast with Paul Jones, for the purpose of establishing a trading factory there.—Proposes travelling across the continent from Nootka Sound to the United States.—Thinks of going to Africa with Mr. Lamb.—Remarks on Paris, and various objects that came under his notice.—The King at Versailles.—Mr. Jefferson and Lafayette.—The Queen at St. Cloud.—Application through Baron Grimm to the Empress of Russia, to obtain permission for him to travel across her dominions to Bering's Strait.—Colonel Humphreys.—Contemplates going to Petersburg, before the Empress's answer is received.—Curious anecdote of Sir James Hall.—Visit to the hospitals in Paris.—Tour in Normandy.—Proceeds to London, where he engages a passage on board a vessel just ready to sail for the Northwest coast.—Colonel Smith's letter to Mr. Jay.—The voyage defeated.—Resolves anew to go to Russia.—Sir Joseph Banks and other gentlemen contribute funds to aid him in his travels.

At this time Mr. Jefferson was minister from the United States at the court of France. That patriot, equally ardent in the love of science, and friendly to every enterprise, which had for its object the improvement of his country, received Ledyard with great kindness, and approved most highly his design of an expedition to the Northwest Coast of America. He perceived at once the advantages that would flow from such a voyage, not merely in its immediate mercantile results, but in its

bearing on the future commerce and political interests of the United States. No part of that wide region had then been explored, nor any formal possession taken of it, except the few points at which Cook's vessels had touched, and others where the Russians possessed small establishments for the prosecution of the fur trade with the Indians. These latter were also probably confined to the islands. To a statesman like Mr. Jefferson it was evident, that a large portion of that immense country, separated from the United States by no barrier of nature, would eventually be embraced in their territory. He was convinced of the propriety, therefore, of its being explored by a citizen of the United States, and regretted the failure of Ledyard's attempts in his own country to engage in a voyage before the same thing had been meditated anywhere else. These views were deeply impressed on the mind of Mr. Jefferson, and in them originated the journey of Lewis and Clark over land to the Pacific Ocean, twenty years afterwards, which was projected by him, and prosecuted under his auspices.

Ledyard had not been many days in France, before he became acquainted with Paul Jones, at that time acting under a commission from

the Congress of the United States, to demand the amount of certain prizes, which he had taken during the war, particularly in the famous capture of the Serapis and the Countess of Scarborough, and sent into French ports. This intrepid adventurer, being now unemployed in any military or public service, eagerly seized Ledyard's idea, and an arrangement was closed, by which they agreed to unite in an expedition, on a scale somewhat larger than Ledyard had before contemplated. Two vessels were to be fitted out, and, if possible, commissioned by the king. Jones was to use his influence at court, to persuade the government to enlist in the enterprise, or at least to furnish the vessels and the requisite naval armament. If this could not be effected, it was resolved that the outfits should be reduced within the limits of Jones's private means, and the two partners would act wholly on their own responsibility and risk.

If it should be found necessary to pursue the enterprise, on their private account alone, the two vessels were to proceed in company to the Northwest coast, and commence a factory there under the American flag. The first six months were to be spent in collecting furs, and looking out for a suitable spot to establish a

post, either on the main land, or on an island. A small stockade was then to be built, in which Ledyard was to be left, with a surgeon, an assistant, and twenty soldiers; one of the vessels was to be despatched, with its cargo of furs, under the command of Paul Jones, to China, while the other was to remain in order to facilitate the collecting of another cargo during his absence. Jones was to return with both the vessels to China, sell their cargoes of furs, load them with silks and teas, and continue his voyage, round the Cape of Good Hope, to Europe or the United States. He was then to replenish his vessels with suitable articles for traffic with the Indians, and proceed as expeditiously as possible round Cape Horn, to the point of his departure in the Northern Pacific. Meantime Ledyard and his party were to employ themselves in purchasing furs, cultivating a good understanding with the natives, and making such discoveries on the coast as their situation would allow. Ledyard supposed he should be absent four or five years, and perhaps six or seven.*

* A voyage from Canton to the Northwest Coast, and back to that port, for purposes similar to those meditated by Ledyard and Paul Jones, was performed fourteen years afterwards by

Here was a scheme, that might give full scope to the imagination of the two heroes by whom it had been conceived, presenting at once the prospect of hazard, adventure, fame, and profit. They dwelt upon it with complacency, and so much was Jones taken with it, that he advanced money to Ledyard with which to purchase a part of the cargo for the outfit, even before he had applied to the government for aid, being determined to prosecute it at his own risk if he failed in that quarter. But at this moment, his affairs in regard to the prize-money assumed a crisis, which compelled him to go from Paris to L'Orient, where he was detained nearly three months; and although he was ultimately successful, yet his zeal for this new scheme gradually cooled down, as he probably found that the government would do nothing in the matter, and that his private fortune was not adequate to so expensive an undertaking. At any rate, it fell through; and after four or five months of suspense, Ledyard had the renewed mortification of another dis-

Captain Richard J. Cleveland. Whoever would understand the difficulties and dangers of such an enterprise, at that time, will be pleased with reading a brief account of Captain Cleveland's voyage, in the North American Review for October, 1827. No. 57.

appointment, and of seeing his ardent wishes no nearer their accomplishment than when he left L'Orient. The only advantage he had derived from his intercourse with the Chevalier, was an allowance of money sufficient for his maintenance, which Jones had stipulated at the commencement of the negociation, and which he had promptly paid.

Just at this time, Mr. Lamb, the diplomatic agent appointed by the Congress of the United States, to treat with the Dey of Algiers, arrived in Paris. Ledyard met him occasionally at Mr. Jefferson's, took an interest in his mission, and had serious thoughts of joining him and going to Africa; but for what specific purpose is not told. The lingering desire, however, of still being able to conquer the fatality of circumstances, which had hitherto impeded his progress to glory, in the course his fancy had pictured to him, continued to sustain him with the hope of a better turn of fortune, and to urge him forward to untried expedients.

In Paris, he associated with several Americans, who approved and encouraged his ardour, and whose society afforded him consolation in the midst of his misfortunes, but who were not in a condition to promote his wishes, or remove his embarrassments. The question, what was

to be done, which he had so often been compelled to ask himself in cases of similar extremity, now recurred anew, and with as small a prospect as ever of its being answered in such a manner as to lull his apprehensions or relieve his anxiety. He determined to adventure one effort more, and submit the same proposition to a mercantile company in Paris, which he had done in L'Orient. Some progress was made in an attempt to organize such a company, but it was never matured. It was his intention, after he had visited the coast, and procured a full cargo of furs, to dispatch the vessel to China under proper officers, and return himself across the continent to the United States, thus accomplishing the double object of a lucrative voyage, and a tour of discovery through an unexplored wilderness of four thousand miles in extent. Afterwards he would join the expedition in the company's service, either in France, or any other part of the world, as circumstances might dictate. Such was the compass of his desires; yet he would have relinquished the idea of this exploratory tour, and rejoiced to engage in a voyage merely for commercial ends, if even that could have been effected.

Several months were passed in unavailing efforts to conquer obstacles, which seemed to

thicken as he advanced, and in vainly striving to enlighten ignorance and overcome prejudice, till his perseverance could hold out no longer, and he was forced to abandon the thought of a voyage by sea to the Northwest Coast, either for trade or discovery. He continued in Paris, but felt himself, as he really was, a wanderer, without employment or motive. With Mr. Jefferson, the Marquis de la Fayette, Mr. Barclay, the American consul, and other gentlemen of character and consequence, he was on terms of intimacy. In this society, and enjoying the amusements afforded in the capital of France, his time passed away agreeably enough, and in some of his letters he speaks of his happiness; yet he was far from being satisfied; he suffered under the pressure of want, and a corroding sense of dependence; and occasionally his finances were at so low an ebb, that he was compelled, however reluctantly, to be a pensioner on the bounty of his friends. So disinterested were his aims, however, and so entirely did he sacrifice every selfish consideration in prosecuting them; so benevolent was his disposition, and so enlarged his views of serving mankind, that no one considered favours of this sort in the light of obligations conferred, nor so much acts of charity,

as a just tribute to the singleness of his heart, the generosity of his purposes, and the effective warmth of his zeal.

A few miscellaneous extracts from his letters, written during the first months of his residence in Paris, may properly come in here. They will give some insight into his occupations, as well as his habit of observing events and objects in the great world around him.

"Paris is situated in an extended plain, rising on all sides into gradual elevations, and some little hills happily interspersed in the borders of its horizon. Its extent, viewed from the tower of Notre Dame, appeared to me less than London, though it must be larger. The public buildings are numerous, and some of them magnificent. Paris is the centre of France, and its centre is the Palais Royal, the resort of the greatest virtues and the greatest vices of such a kingdom. It is France in miniature, and no friend to France should ever see it. The Tuilleries, afford a consummate display of artificial elegance and grandeur; the gardens of the Luxembourg, are much inferior. The Boulevards were originally fortifications, and they now form a broad way that surrounds the city, separating it from the suburbs. It is well lined with fine umbrageous elms on each side,

forming a beautiful course for coaches and horsemen; but the farmers-general, to prevent illicit trade, are walling it in, at the expense of a thousand lamentations of the Parisians, and several millions of livres. I have been once at the king's library. Papa Franklin, as the French here call him, is among a number of statues that I saw. The bust of Paul Jones is also there. Did you ever know that Captain Jones was two or three nights successively crowned with laurels at the great Opera House in Paris, after the action between the Bon Homme Richard and the Serapis?

"I find at our minister's table between fifteen and twenty Americans, inclusive of two or three ladies. It is very remarkable, that we are neither despised nor envied for our love of liberty, but very often caressed. I was yesterday at Versailles. It was the feast of St. Louis, but I never feasted so ill in my life, as at the hotel where I dined, and never paid so dear for a dinner. I was too late to see the procession of the king and queen, but I was little disappointed on that account, as I had already seen those baubles. The king I saw a fortnight before to very great advantage, being near to him while he was shooting partridges in the fields. He was dressed in common

musqueto trowsers, a short linen frock, and an old laced hat without a cockade. He had an easy, gentlemanly appearance; and had it not been for his few attendants, I should have taken him for the captain of a merchant ship, amusing himself in the field. The palace at Versailles, and its gardens, are an ornament to the face of the globe. It was dirty weather. I wore boots, and consequently was prohibited from visiting the galleries. I was in company with our Mr. Barclay, Colonel Franks, of the American army, a young Virginian, and an English sea officer. Franks was booted too; but though honest Tom Barclay was not, he had no bag on, and they were dismissed also; so that boots on, and bags off, are sad recommendations at the court of Versailles.

"If the two Fitzhughs remain in town a week longer, you shall have a week's detail. They dine with me to-day in my chamber, together with our worthy consul Barclay, and that lump of universality, Colonel Franks. But such a set of moneyless rascals have never appeared, since the epoch of the happy villain Falstaff. I have but five French crowns in the world; Franks has not a sol; and the Fitzhughs cannot get their tobacco money.

"Mr. Jefferson is an able minister, and our

country may repose a confidence in him equal to their best wishes. Whether in public or private, he is in every word and every action, the representative of a young, vigorous, and determined state. His only competitors here, even in political fame, are Vergennes and La Fayette. In other accomplishments he stands alone. The Marquis de la Fayette is one of the most growing characters in this kingdom. He has planted a tree in America, and sits under its shade at Versailles. He is now at the court of old Frederick. I am sure, that you could not yourself have manifested more alacrity to serve me, than he has done. The Marquis is a warm friend to America. It will be difficult for any subsequent plenipotentiary to have as much personal influence in France, as Dr. Franklin had; it will at least be so, till the causes, which created that venerable patriot's ascendancy, shall become less recent in the minds of the people. I had the pleasure of being but once at his house before his departure, and although bent down with age and infirmities, the excellent old man exhibited all the good cheer of health, the gay philosopher, and the kindness of a friendly countryman.

"It has been a holiday to-day; the nativity of the Virgin Mary. My friend, the Abbé

D'Aubrey, tells me, that they have but eighty-two holidays in the year, which are publicly regarded; but this is a mistake; they have more. We both agree, that they have eighty-two less than they formerly had. There are certainly a hundred days in this city, every year, whereupon all the shops are shut, and there is a general suspension of business; for the good policy of which, let them look to it. You will hear, in your papers, of an affair between a certain Cardinal and the Queen of France. It has been the topic of conversation here for thirty days; and forty fools, that have expressed themselves too freely in the matter for the police, are already in the Bastile. We have news to-day, that the king will have him tried by the Parliament, and has written to that dying meteor, the pope, not to meddle in the business.

"I was late home yesterday evening from the feast of St. Cloud, held at a little town of that name on the bank of the Seine. It is particularly remarkable for having the Queen's Gardens in it, and a house for the Queen, called a palace. The chief circumstance which renders the village a place of curiosity to strangers, is the waterworks, which, after the labour of many years and vast expense,

exhibit a sickly cascade, and three *jets d'eau*, or fountains, that cast water into the air. The largest of these throws out a column as big as a man's arm, which rises about thirty yards. In the evening I entered a part of the gardens where some fireworks were played off. The tickets were twenty-four sols. The fireworks were very few, but good. This little rustic entertainment of the Queen's, was with great propriety attended with very little parade about her person. It was a mere rural revel, and never before did I see majesty and tag-rag so philosophically blended; a few country fiddlers scraping, and Kate of the mill tripping it with Dick of the vineyard.

"Thus you see how some few of my days pass away. I see a great deal, and think a great deal, but derive little pleasure from either, because I am forced into both, and am alone in both."

By these methods he endeavoured to amuse himself, and forget his favourite scheme of traversing the western continent, and ascertaining its physical character and commercial resources; but this was not possible; it had taken too strong a hold of him to admit of being driven altogether from his mind. As fate seemed to throw difficulties insurmount-

able in the way of a passage by sea, he bethought himself of the only remaining expedient, by which a part of his original design might be carried into execution; and that was, to travel by land through the northern regions of Europe and Asia, cross over Bering's Strait to the American continent, and pursue his route thence down the coast, and to the interior, in such a manner as the exigencies of his condition might point out to him when on the spot.

The first object requiring attention, was to gain permission of the Empress of Russia to pass through her immense territories to Kamtschatka. Mr. Jefferson, who heartily approved the project, interested himself in this preliminary measure, and applied to M. de Simoulin, minister plenipotentiary from Russia at the court of France, and especially to the Baron de Grimm, minister from Saxe-Gotha at the same court. Grimm was a correspondent and private agent of the Empress, and would be likely to have as much influence with her in a matter of this sort, as her public minister. Both these gentlemen very readily acceded to Mr. Jefferson's request, and made in his name a direct application to the Empress, soliciting permission for Ledyard, in the character of an

American citizen, to travel through her dominions. As haste is not a characteristic of transactions of this sort with crowned heads, the impatient traveller resolved to busy himself in the best manner he could, at least till a reasonable time should elapse for a reply. In the interim he retired to St. Germain, where he afterwards commonly resided during his stay in France. The letter, which contains the following passages, is dated at St. Germain, on the eighth of April, 1786.

"If Congress should yet be at New York, this will be delivered to you by my friend, and almost every body's friend, Colonel Humphreys, whom you knew in days of yore. He is secretary to our legation at the court of France, has a good head and a good heart; but his hobby is poetry, and as the English reviewers allow him merit therein, I may very safely venture to do it. He is a friendly, good soul, a sincere yankee, and so affectionately fond of his country, that to be in his society here is at least as good to me, as a dream of being at home. I imagine he takes dispatches, but as we are republicans a little more polished than on your side of the water, we never presume to ask impertinent questions.

"You have doubtless by this time received

my letters by Mr. Barrett. Your hearing from me so often by those who intimately know my situation, and who are so much my friends, is a happy circumstance; but I would freely have relinquished the pleasure, which I take in writing this letter, to have been where I supposed I should be, when I wrote you last. But soon after the departure of Mr. Barrett, our minister, the Russian minister, and the Marquis de la Fayette, took it into their heads, that I should not go directly to Petersburgh, but wait till I was sent for, which is the occasion of my being here to write you at this time. You see that I have so many friends, that I cannot do just as I please. I am very well in health. A gracious Providence, and the Indian corn diet of my childhood, added to the robust scenes I have since passed through, have left me at the same age at which my father died, 'healthy, active, vigorous, and strong.'* I am for a few weeks at the little town where my letter is dated, and as I live upon the skirt of a royal forest, I am every day in it, and it is usual for me to run two miles an end and return. I am like one of Swift's Houyhnhnms. Ask Humphreys if I did not walk into Paris

* A line from his father's tombstone; he died at the age of thirty-five.

last week, and return to dine with Madam Barclay the same morning, a distance equal at least to twenty-four of our miles. But this is not the work of nature; she made me a voluptuous, pensive animal, intended for the tranquil scenes of domestic life, for ease and contemplation, and a thousand other fine soft matters, that I have thought nothing about, since I was in love with R. E. of Stonington. What fate intends further, I leave to fate; but it is very certain, that there has ever been a great difference between the manner of life I have actually led, and that which I should have chosen; and this is not to be attributed more, perhaps, to the irregular incidents that have alternately caressed and insulted me, than to the irregularity of my genius. Tom Barclay, our consul, who knows mankind and me very well, tells me that he never saw such a medley as in me. The Virginian gentlemen here call me Oliver Cromwell, and say, that, like him, I shall be 'damn'd to fame;' but I have never dared to prophesy, however, that it would be by a Virginian poet.

"I every hour expect my summons to Petersburgh from the Russian minister. I shall have a delightful season to pass through Germany, though it does not suit my tour well. I

shall lose a season by it. I am not certain about the result of this business, and shall not be perfectly at ease, till I have been introduced to the Empress."

From a remark above, it may be inferred, that Ledyard wished to begin his journey to Petersburgh before any intelligence had been received by the Russian minister in reply to his application. His principal motive doubtless was, that he might take advantage of the season, and reach Siberia so far in anticipation of the severest parts of the winter, as not to be blocked up for several months by the snows in that frigid region. His advisers considered such a step ill judged, inasmuch as a formal petition had been sent to the Empress, and it would evince a want of proper respect to set out on the journey before her answer had been returned, however strong might be the probability that her consent would be granted. These points of etiquette were overlooked by the traveller, in his eagerness to be on the road, and he moreover thought the business might as well be settled at the court of the Empress in Petersburgh, as through her minister in Paris. The event proved his impressions not to be ill founded. His forebodings were verified, for he was kept in daily expectation, for

more than five months, without receiving an answer, or hearing anything on the subject, either from M. de Simoulin, or the Baron de Grimm. His last letter from France is a very long one, dated at St. Germain, the eighth of August, 1786. It touches on a great variety of topics, and was written at different times.

"Since I wrote to you by Colonel Humphreys," says he, to his friend, "I have been at St. Germain, waiting the issue of my affair at Petersburgh. You wonder by what means I exist, having brought with me to Paris, this time twelve months, only three louis d'ors. Ask vice-consuls, consuls, ministers, and plenipotentiaries, all of whom have been tributary to me. You think I joke. No, upon my honour; and however irreconcileable to my temper, disposition, and education, it is nevertheless strictly true. Every day of my life, my dear cousin, is a day of expectation, and consequently a day of disappointment. Whether I shall have a morsel of bread to eat at the end of two months, is as much an uncertainty as it was fourteen months ago, and not more so. The near approach that I have so often made to each extreme of happiness and distress, without absolutely entering into either, has rendered me so hardy, that I can meet either with composure.

"Permit me to relate to you an incident. About a fortnight ago, Sir James Hall, an English gentleman, on his way from Paris to Cherbourg, stopped his coach at our door, and came up to my chamber. I was in bed at six o'clock in the morning, but having flung on my *robe de chambre*, I met him at the door of the ante-chamber. I was glad to see him, but surprised. He observed, that he had endeavoured to make up his opinion of me, with as much exactness as possible, and concluded that no kind of visit whatever would surprise me. I could do no otherwise than remark, that his *opinion* surprised me at least, and the conversation took another turn. In walking across the chamber, he laughingly put his hand on a six livre piece, and a louis d'or, that lay on my table, and with a half stifled blush, asked me how I was in the money way. Blushes commonly beget blushes, and I blushed partly because he did, and partly on other accounts. 'If fifteen guineas,' said he, interrupting the answer he had demanded, 'will be of any service to you, there they are,' and he put them on the table. 'I am a traveller myself, and though I have some fortune to support my travels, yet I have been so situated

as to want money, which you ought not to do. You have my address in London.' He then wished me a good morning and left me. This gentleman was a total stranger to the situation of my finances, and one that I had by mere accident met at an ordinary in Paris. We had conversed together several times, and he once sent his carriage for me to dine with him. I found him handsomely lodged in the best Fauxbourg in the city. Two members of the British House of Commons, two lords, Beaumarchais, and several members of the Royal Academy, were at his table. He had seen me two or three times after that, and always expressed the highest opinion of the tour I had determined to make, and said he would, as a citizen of the world, do any thing in his power to promote it; but I had no more idea of receiving money from him, than I have this moment of receiving it from Tippoo Saib. However, I took it without any hesitation, and told him I would be as complaisant to him, if ever occasion offered.

"I have once visited the Foundling Hospital, and the Hospital de Dieu, in Paris; twice I never shall. Not all the morality, from Confucius to Addison, could give me such feelings. Eighteen foundlings were brought

the day of my visit. One was brought in while I was there. Dear little innocents! But you are, happily, insensible of your situations. Where are your unfortunate mothers? Perhaps in the adjoining hospital; they have to feel for you and themselves too. But where is the wretch, the villain, the monster— ? I was not six minutes in the house. It is customary to leave a few pence; I flung down six livres, and retired. Determined to persevere, I continued my visit over the way to the Hospital de Dieu. I entered first the apartments of the women. Why will you, my dear sisters, I was going to say, as I passed along between the beds in ranks, why will you be—; but I was interrupted by a melancholy figure, that appeared at its last gasp, or already dead. 'She's dead,' said I, to a German gentleman, who was with me, 'and nobody knows or cares anything about it.' We approached the bedside. I observed a slight undulatory motion in one of the jugular arteries. 'She's not dead,' said I, and seized her hand to search for her pulse. I hoped to find life, but it was gone. The word *dead* being again pronounced, brought the nuns to the bed. 'My God!' exclaimed the head nun, 'she's dead;'—'Jesu, Maria!' exclaimed the other nuns, in their defence, 'she's dead!'

The head nun scolded the others for their mal-attendance. 'My God!' continued she, 'she is dead without the form.' 'Dieu!' said the others, 'she died so silently.' 'Silence,' said the elder, 'perhaps she is not dead; say the form.' The form was said, and the sheet thrown over her face.

"While in Normandy, I was at the seat of Conflans, the successor of him who was so unfortunate in a naval affair with Hawke of England. It is the lordship of the manor. The peasants live and die at the smiles or frowns of their lord, and, avaricious of the former, they fly to communicate to him any uncommon occurrence in the village; and such they thought our arrival. The place, to be sure, is very remote, and the gentleman I accompanied, who was an Englishman, rode in a superb manner. His coach and servants were in a very elegant style. M. Conflans was informed of it. On that day it was my turn to cater, and the little country taverns in France are such as oblige one to cook for himself, if he would eat. I was consequently very busy in the kitchen. The Otaheite marks on my hands were discovered; the mistress and the maids asked our servants the history of so strange a sight? They were answered that I

was a gentleman, who had been round the world. It was enough; Conflans knew of it, and sent a billet, written in good English, to inquire if we would permit him the honour of seeing us at his mansion; and, if he could be thus distinguished, he would come and wait on us thither himself. It was too late; the Englishman and I had begun pell-mell upon a joint of roast. If Jove himself had sent a card by Blanchard inviting us, it would have been all one. We would honour ourselves with waiting on the Marquis de Conflans in the evening. We did so, and we could not but be pleased with the reception we met with; it was in the true character of a French nobleman.

"I took a walk to Paris this morning, and saw the Marquis de la Fayette. He is a good man, this same Marquis. I esteem him, and even love him, and so we all do, except some few, who worship him. I make these trips to Paris often; sometimes to dine with this amiable Frenchman, and sometimes with our minister, who is a brother to me. I am too much alive to care and ambition to sit still. The unprofitable life I have led goads me; I would willingly crowd as much merit as possible into the autumn and winter of it. Like Milton's

hero in Paradise Lost, (who happens, by the way, to be the evil one himself), it behoves me now to use both oar and sail to gain my port.

"The Paris papers of to-day announce the discovery of some valuable gold mines in Montgomery county, Virginia, which I rejoice to hear; but I hope they will not yield too much of it, for, as Poor Richard says, 'too much of one thing is good for nothing.' All that I can say is, that, if too much of it is as bad as *too little*, the Lord help you, as he has me, who, in spite of my poverty, am hearty and cheerful. I die with anxiety to be on the back of the American States, after having either come from or penetrated to the Pacific Ocean. There is an extensive field for the acquirement of honest fame. A blush of generous regret sits on my cheek, when I hear of any discovery there, which I have had no part in, and particularly at this auspicious period. The American revolution invites to a thorough discovery of the continent, and the honour of doing it would become a foreigner, but a native can only feel the genuine pleasure of the achievement. It was necessary, that a European should discover the existence of that continent, but, in the name of *Amor Patriæ*, let a native explore its resources and

boundaries. It is my wish to be the man. I will not yet resign that wish, nor my pretensions to that distinction. Farewell for the present. I have just received intelligence which hurries me to London. What fate intends is always a secret; fortitude is the word. I leave this letter with my brother and my father, our minister. He will send it by the first conveyance. Adieu."

The intelligence here alluded to, was from his eccentric friend, Sir James Hall, who had returned to London. In six days Ledyard was with him in the British capital. He there found an English ship in complete readiness to sail for the Pacific Ocean. Sir James Hall introduced him to the owners, who immediately offered him a free passage in the vessel, with the promise, that he should be set on shore at any place on the Northwest Coast, which he might choose. The merchants, no doubt, hoped to profit somewhat by his knowledge and experience, and he could not object to such an exchange, as these were his only possessions. One of Cook's officers was also going out in the same vessel. The day before he was to go on board, Ledyard wrote to Mr. Jefferson in the following animated strain:—

"Sir James Hall presented me with twenty

guineas, *pro bono publico*. I bought two great dogs, an Indian pipe, and a hatchet. My want of time, as well as of money, will prevent my going any otherwise than indifferently equipped for such an enterprise; but it is certain that I shall be more in want before I see Virginia. Why should I repine? You know how much I owe the amiable La Fayette. Will you do me the honour to present my most grateful thanks to him? If I find in my travels a mountain, as much elevated above other mountains as he is above ordinary men, I will name it *La Fayette*. —I beg the honour, also, of my compliments to Mr. Short, who has been my friend, and who, like the good widow in Scripture, cast in, not only his mite, but more than he was able, for my assistance."

The equipment of two dogs, an Indian pipe, and a hatchet, it must be confessed, was very scanty for a journey across a continent; but they were selected with an eye to their uses. The dogs would be his companions, and assist him in taking wild animals for food; the pipe was an emblem of peace to the Indians; and the hatchet would serve many purposes of convenience and utility. His choice could not have fallen perhaps, upon three more essential requisites for a solitary traveller among savages

and wild beasts; they would enable him to provide for his defence, and procure a friendly reception, covering, and sustenance. All these were necessary, and must be the first objects of his care.

His plan was fully arranged before entering the ship. He determined to land at Nootka Sound, where he had passed some time with Cook's expedition, and thence strike directly into the interior, and pursue his course, as fortune should guide him, to Virginia. By his calculation, the voyage and tour would take him about three years. He was much gratified with the reception he met in London, and particularly from Sir Joseph Banks, and some other gentlemen of science, who entered warmly into his designs. It was believed, that his discoveries would not fail to add valuable improvements to geography and natural history; and there was a romantic daring in the enterprise itself, well suited to gain the applause of ardent and liberal minds. Thus encouraged, his enthusiasm rose higher than ever, and his impatience to embark increased every moment.

While in Paris the preceding year, he had become acquainted with Colonel Smith, Secretary of Legation to Mr. Adams, at that time American minister in London. Colonel Smith

befriended him after his arrival in England, and conceiving the journey he was about to undertake, as promising to be highly important to America, he wrote an account of it to Mr. Jay, then Secretary of Foreign Affairs in the United States. After a few remarks relative to Ledyard's previous attempts and objects, Colonel Smith proceeds:

"In consequence of some allurements from an English nobleman at Paris, he came here with the intention of exploring the Northwest Coast and country; and a vessel being on the point of sailing for that coast, after supplying himself with a few necessary articles for his voyage and march, he procured a passage, with a promise from the captain to land him on the western coast, from which he means to attempt a march through the Indian nations to the back parts of the Atlantic States, for the purpose of examining the country and its inhabitants; and he expects to be able to make his way through, possessed of such information of the country and people, as will be of great advantage to ours. This remains to be proved. It is a daring, wild attempt. Determined to pursue the object, he embarked the last week, free and independent of the world, pursuing his plan, unembarrassed by contract or obligation. If

he succeeds, and in the course of two or three years should visit our country by this amazing circuit, he may bring with him some interesting information. If he fails, and is never heard of more, which I think most probable, there is no harm done. He dies in an unknown country, and if he composes himself in his last moments with the reflection, that his project was great, and the undertaking what few men are capable of, it will to his mind soothe the passage. He is perfectly calculated for the attempt—robust and healthy—and has an immense passion to make discoveries, which will benefit society, and ensure him, agreeably to his own expression, 'a small degree of honest fame.' It may not be improper for your excellency to be acquainted with these circumstances, and you are the best judge of the propriety of extending them further."

The vessel went down the Thames from Deptford, and in a few days put to sea. Ledyard thought it the happiest moment of his life. But, alas! how uncertain are human expectations! Again was he doomed to suffer the agonies of a disappointment more severe than any that had preceded, because never before were his wishes so near their consummation. He looked upon the great obstacles as over-

come, and regarded himself as beyond the reach of fortune's caprice. This delusion soon vanished. The vessel was not out of sight of land, before it was brought back by an order from the government, and the voyage was finally broken off. He went back to London, as may be supposed, with a heavy heart. A month afterwards he wrote to Dr. Ledyard :—

" I am still the slave of fortune, and the son of care. You will be surprised that I am yet in London, unless you will conclude with me, that, after what has happened, nothing can be surprising. I think my last letter informed you, that I was absolutely embarked on board a ship in the Thames, bound to the Northwest Coast of America. This will inform you that I have disembarked from said ship, on account of her having been unfortunately seized by the custom-house, and eventually exchequered; and that I am obliged in consequence to alter my route; and, in short, everything, all my little baggage—shield, buckler, lance, dogs, squire,—and all gone. I only am left;—left to what? To some riddle, I'll warrant you; or, at all events, I will not warrant anything else. My heart is too much troubled at this moment to write to you as I ought to do. I will only add, that I am going in a few days to make the

tour of the globe, from London east, on foot. I dare not write you more, nor introduce you to the real state of my affairs. Farewell. Fortitude! Adieu."

By this it will be seen, that his Siberian project was again revived; and, in fact, a subscription to aid him in this object had already been commenced in London, under the patronage of Sir Joseph Banks, Dr. Hunter, Sir James Hall, and Colonel Smith. "I fear my subscription will be small," he says, in a letter to Mr. Jefferson; "it adds to my anxiety to reach those dominions, where I shall not want money. I do not mean the dominions, that may be beyond death. I shall never wish to die while you and the Marquis are alive. I am going across Siberia, as I before intended." The amount collected by his friends is not mentioned, but it was such as to induce him to set out upon the journey; which, indeed, he probably would have done, had he obtained no money at all. He had lived too long by expedients to be stopped in his career by an obstacle so trifling, in his imagination, as the want of money, and he was panting to get into a country where its use was unknown, and where of course the want of it would not be felt.

CHAPTER VIII.

Ledyard proceeds to Hamburg.—Goes to Copenhagen, where he meets Major Langhorn, another American traveller.—Endeavours to persuade Langhorn to accompany him on his tour, but in vain.—Continues his route to Sweden, and is disappointed in not being able to cross the Gulf of Bothnia on the ice.—Journey round the Gulf into the Arctic Circle on foot, through Sweden, Lapland, and Finland.—Maupertuis' description of the cold at Tornea.—Arrives at Petersburg, where he is befriended by Professor Pallas and others.—Procures a passport from the Empress, through the agency of Count Segur, the French ambassador.—Sets out for Siberia, and travels by way of Moscow, to Kazan, a town on the river Wolga.—Crosses the Uralian Mountains.—Some account of the city of Tobolsk.—Proceeds to Barnaoul and Tomsk.—Descriptions of the country and the inhabitants.—Character and condition of the exiles at Tomsk.—Fossil Bones.—Curious mounds and tombs of the ancient natives.—Arrives at Irkutsk.

LEAVING London in December, Ledyard went over to Hamburg, whence he immediately wrote to Colonel Smith. From the account of his finances contained in that letter, it would not seem that he was encumbered, at his departure from England, with a heavy purse. He makes no complaint, however: on the contrary, he expresses only joy, that the journey, which he had so long desired, was actually begun.

"I am here," he says, "with ten guineas

exactly, and in perfect health. One of my dogs is no more. I lost him on my passage up the river Elbe to Hamburg, in a snow storm. I was out in it forty hours in an open boat. My other faithful companion is under the table on which I write. I dined to-day with Madam Parish, lady of the gentleman I mentioned to you. It is a Scotch house, of the first commercial distinction here. The Scotch have, by nature, a dignity of sentiment, that renders them accomplished. I could go to heaven with Madam Parish, but she had some people at her table, that I could not go to heaven with. I cannot submit to a haughty eccentricity of manners. My fate has sent me to the tavern, where Major Langhorn was three weeks. He is now at Copenhagen, having left his baggage here to be sent on to him. By some mistake, he has not received it, and has written to the master of the hotel on the subject. I shall write to him, and give him my address at Petersburg. I should wish to see him at all events; but, to have him accompany me on my voyage, would be a pleasure indeed."

This Major Langhorn turns out to be an American officer, lately arrived in Hamburg from Newcastle, "a very good kind of a man, and an odd kind of a man," as the master of

the hotel called him—one who had travelled much, and was fond of travelling in his own way. He had gone off to Copenhagen without his baggage, taking with him only one spare shirt, and very few other articles of clothing. It does not appear that Ledyard had ever been acquainted with Langhorn, or even seen him; but he had heard such a description of him from Colonel Smith, and others, that in fancy he had become enamoured of the originality and romantic turn of his character, and particularly of his passion for travelling. Carried away with this whimsical prepossession, he had got it into his head, that Langhorn was the fittest man in the world to be the companion of his travels. An imaginary resemblance between their pursuits, condition, and the bent of their genius, created a sympathy that was not to be resisted. He moreover suspected, from hints which he saw in Langhorn's letter, inquiring about his trunk, that he was in want of money. Here was another appeal to his generosity, and one which he could never suffer to be made in vain, when he had ten guineas in his pocket. "I will fly to him with my little all, and some clothes, and lay them at his feet. At this moment I may be useful to him; he is my countryman, a gentleman, a

traveller. He may go with me on my journey; if he does, I am blessed; if not, I shall merit his attention, and shall not be much out of my way to Petersburg."

With this state of his feelings, it is not wonderful that we should next hear from him at Copenhagen. He hastened on to that city, and arrived there about the first of January, 1787, although it was taking him far aside from his direct course, and exposing him to all the fatigues and perils of a long, tedious winter passage through Sweden and Finland. He found Langhorn in a very awkward situation, without money or friends, and shut up in his room for the want of decent apparel to appear abroad in; and, what was worse, incurring the suspicions of those around him, that he was some vagabond, or desperate character, whose conduct had rendered it expedient for him to keep out of sight. Imagination only can paint the joy, that glowed in our traveller's countenance, when he saw the remains of his ten guineas slip from his fingers, to relieve the distresses of his new-found friend. All that could now be said of them was, that their poverty was equalized; the major could walk abroad, and his benefactor had not means to carry him beyond the bounds of the city. The road to

Petersburg was many hundred miles long, through snows, and over ice, and presenting obstacles enough at that season to appal the stoutest heart, even with all the facilities for travelling, which gold could purchase. What then was the prospect for a moneyless pedestrian?

These reflections were not suffered to intrude upon the pleasures of the moment. His money was gone, it was true, but a worthy man, and a traveller, had been made happier by it. How he should advance further, was a thing to be thought of to-morrow; yet the doubt never came into his mind, that anything could stop him, when the time should arrive for him to move forward. Neither confidence nor fortitude ever forsook him. Two weeks were agreeably passed in the society of Langhorn, but no inducements could prevail on him to undertake the Siberian tour, much less to hazard the dangerous experiment of intrusting himself among the wild barbarians of North America. His humour was not of this sort, yet it was scarcely less peculiar than if it had been. "I see in him," says Ledyard to Colonel Smith, "the soldier, the countryman, and the generous friend; but he would hang me if he knew I had written a word about him; and so I will say

no more, than just to inform you, that he means to wander this winter through Norway, Swedish Lapland, and Sweden; and, in the spring, to visit Petersburg. I asked to attend him through this route to Petersburg; — 'No; I esteem you, but I can travel in the way I do with no man on earth.'" After this avowal, the major certainly merits the praise of frankness, if not of compliance; and Ledyard must have possessed a larger share of practical philosophy, than falls to the lot of most men, to have been perfectly reconciled to this abrupt declaration, after coming so far out of his way, and spending much time and all his money in search of a companion, who he fondly hoped would participate in his adventures.

When this visit of friendship was closed, and the hour of departure approached, the necessity was pressed upon him of looking about for money. He drew a small bill on Colonel Smith, and good fortune put in his way a merchant, who consented to accept it, and pay him the amount. "Thompson's goodness to me," he writes to Colonel Smith, "in accepting the bill on you, relying on my honour, has saved me from perdition, and will enable me to reach Petersburg." A small sum, to meet such an

exigency, had been left in Colonel Smith's hands, but not to the full amount of the draft. Ledyard apologizes for the addition, and tells his friend that he must put it to the account of charity, for his necessities only had compelled him to overdraw. The draft was kindly accepted by Colonel Smith, when it came to hand. Thus replenished, our traveller parted from the eccentric major, crossed over into Sweden, and arrived in Stockholm towards the end of January.*

* Langhorn pursued his route, as he had proposed, wandering over Sweden, Norway, and Lapland. The summer following he arrived in Tornea, at the proper season for witnessing the sight, which has drawn other travellers to that place. Tornea is but a few miles south of the Arctic Circle; and, at the time of the summer solstice, the sun appears above the horizon, as observed by Maupertuis, "for several days together without setting." Travellers are then favoured with what is called "a view of the sun at midnight." Acerbi was there in 1799, and he mentions Langhorn. In the church of Jukasjeroi, a town at some distance to the north of Tornea, and the Ultima Thule of travellers in that direction, there is a book in which are written the names of visitors, with such remarks as their humour prompted them to indite. These are copied into Acerbi's Travels, amounting to only seven in number. The first record was by Regnard, on the 18th of August, 1681. The following is a literal transcript of another. "Justice bids me record thy hospitable fame, and testify it by my name. W. Langhorn, United States. July 23d, 1787." This was six months after Ledyard

The common mode of travelling from Stockholm to Petersburg, in the summer season, is to cross the Gulf of Bothnia to Abo in Finland by water, touching at the isles of Aland on the passage. In winter the same route is pursued, when the sea is frozen so hard as to admit of sledges being drawn from one island to another on the ice. The greatest distance to be passed over in this manner, without touching land, is about thirty miles. Under the most favourable circumstances, this passage is troublesome and dangerous. It is well described by Acerbi :— "My astonishment was greatly increased," says he, "in proportion as we advanced from our starting-post. The sea, at first smooth and even, became more and more rough and unequal. It assumed, as we proceeded, an undulating appearance, resembling the waves by which it had been agitated. At length we met with masses of ice, heaped one upon the other,

left him in Copenhagen. Acerbi says he was travelling on foot from Norway to Archangel.

There is another record in the Album of Jukasjeroi, entered by a character noted for his singularities, and his passion for rambling, and who is still remembered in the United States, as well as in many other parts of the world, by the name of the *Walking Stewart*. "Non mihi fama, sed hospitalitatis et gratitudinis testimonium. S. Stewart, Civi Orbis. 3° Julii, 1787."

and some of them seeming as if they were suspended in the air, while others were raised in the form of pyramids. On the whole, they exhibited a picture of the wildest and most savage confusion, that surprised the eye by the novelty of its appearance. It was an immense chaos of icy ruins, presented to view under every possible form, and embellished by superb stalactites, of a blue green colour." Over this rough surface, and between the broken waves of ice, the passengers are drawn in sledges, muffled up in wolf skins, and other furs. The chief danger consists in the sledges being repeatedly upset, and the horses sometimes taking fright, and running away like wild deer. Acerbi had a serious adventure of this sort, but he luckily escaped without harm, as he did from many other adventures, which awaited him in his travels to the North Cape.

This is the method of crossing the Gulf of Bothnia in common seasons, but there is occasionally an open winter, when it is impassable, either by water or on the ice; for, if the passage does not freeze entirely over, the water contains so much floating ice, that no vessel can sail through it. When this happens, the only way of going to Petersburg is around the Gulf, a distance of twelve hundred miles, over

trackless snows, in regions thinly peopled, where the nights are long and the cold intense, and all this to gain no more than fifty miles.

Such was unfortunately the condition of the ice, when Ledyard arrived at the usual place of crossing. It had not been frozen solid from the beginning of the winter, and no traveller could pass. Of all his disappointments, none had afflicted him more severely than this. The only alternative was, either to stay in Stockholm till the spring should open, or to go around the Gulf into Lapland, and seek his way from the Arctic Circle to Petersburg, through the whole extent of Finland; and, in either case, he foresaw that he should arrive so late in Russia, that another season would be wasted in Siberia, before he could cross to the American continent. The single circumstance, therefore, of the passage to Abo being thus obstructed, was likely to keep him back a full year from the attainment of his grand object. But he did not deliberate long. He could not endure inactivity, and new difficulties nerved him with new strength to encounter and subdue them. He set out for Tornea in the heart of winter, on foot, and alone, without money or friends, on a road almost unfrequented at that frightful season, and with the gloomy certainty

resting on his mind, that he must travel northward six hundred miles, before he could turn his steps towards a milder climate, and then six or seven hundred more in descending to Petersburg, on the other side of the Gulf.

When Maupertuis and his companions were about leaving Stockholm, on their journey to Tornea, for the purpose of measuring a degree of the meridian under the Polar Circle, the King of Sweden told them, that "it was not without sensible concern, that he saw them pursue so desperate an undertaking;" yet they were prepared with every possible convenience for travelling, and protection against the rigours of a northern winter. A better idea of the degree and effects of cold, at the head of the Gulf, cannot be formed, perhaps, than from Maupertuis' description. "The town of Tornea, at our arrival on the thirtieth of December, had really a most frightful aspect. Its little houses were buried to the tops in snow, which if there had been any daylight, must have effectually shut it out. But the snows continually falling, or ready to fall, for the most part hid the sun the few moments that he might have showed himself at mid-day. In the month of January the cold was increased to that extremity, that Reaumur's mercurial thermometers,

which, in Paris, in the great frost of 1709, it was thought strange to see fall to fourteen degrees below the freezing point, were now down to thirty-seven. The spirit of wine in the others was frozen. If we opened the door of a warm room, the external air instantly converted all the air in it into snow, whirling it round in white vortexes. If we went abroad, we felt as if the air were tearing our breasts in pieces. And the cracking of the wood whereof the houses are built, as if the violence of the cold split it, continually alarmed us with an approaching increase of cold. The solitude of the streets was no less than if the inhabitants had been all dead; and in this country you may often see people that have been maimed, and had an arm or a leg frozen off. The cold, which is always very great, increases sometimes by such violent and sudden fits, as are almost infallibly fatal to those that happen to be exposed to it. Sometimes there arise sudden tempests of snow, that are still more dangerous. The winds seem to blow from all quarters at once, and drive about the snow with such fury, that in a moment all the roads are lost. Unhappy he, who is seized by such a storm in the fields. His acquaintance with the country, or the marks he may have taken by the trees,

cannot avail him. He is blinded by the snow, and lost if he stirs but a step."*

These were the scenes that awaited our pedestrian in his winter excursion to the Polar Circle. How far they were realized by him must be now left to conjecture. No part of his journal, during this tour, has been preserved, nor is it known what course he took from Tornea to Petersburg. The common route is along the border of the Gulf to Abo, but in winter the road is much obstructed by ice, and is extremely bad. Linnæus passed it in September, when returning from his scientific tour to Lapland, and he estimates the distance from Tornea to Abo at upwards of six hundred English miles. From a remark in Ledyard's letter to Mr. Jefferson, which will be quoted below, it would seem, that he took a different direction, and passed farther into the interior of Russian Finland. This route, as he intimates, must have been wholly unfrequented by travellers, although the distance must be shorter, and at that season perhaps the difficulties to be encountered were not greater than down the Gulf.

* See Maupertuis' Discourse before the Royal Academy of Sciences in Paris, November 13th, 1737.

Be this as it may, he reached Petersburg before the twentieth of March, that is, within seven weeks of the time of leaving Stockholm, making the average distance travelled, about two hundred miles a week. It is evident, therefore, that he met with no obstacles, which his resolution did not speedily overcome. His letter to Mr. Jefferson, dated Petersburg, March 19th, 1787, will acquaint us with the state of his feelings, and his prospects, at this stage of his travels:—

"It will be one of the remaining pleasures of my life, to thank you for the many instances of your friendship, and, wherever I am, to pursue you with the tale of my gratitude. If Mr. Barclay should be at Paris, let him rank with you as my next friend. I hardly know how to estimate the goodness of the Marquis de la Fayette to me, but I think a French nobleman, of the first character in his country, never did more to serve an obscure citizen of another, than he has done for me; and I am sure, that it is impossible, without some kind of soul made expressly for the purpose, that an obscure citizen in such a situation can be more grateful than I am. May he be told so, with my compliments to his lady.

"I cannot tell you by what means I came to

Petersburg, and hardly know by what means I shall quit it, in the further prosecution of my tour round the world by land. If I have any merit in the affair, it is perseverance, for most severely have I been buffetted; and yet still am even more obstinate than before; and fate, as obstinate, continues her assaults. How the matter will terminate I know not. The most probable conjecture is, that I shall succeed, and be buffetted around the world, as I have hitherto been from England through Denmark, through Sweden, Swedish Lapland, Swedish Finland, and the most unfrequented parts of Russian Finland, to this aurora borealis of a city. I cannot give you a history of myself since I saw you, or since I wrote you last; however abridged, it would be too long. Upon the whole, mankind have used me well; and though I have as yet reached only the first stage of my journey I feel myself much indebted for that urbanity, which I always thought more general than many think it to be; and were it not for the mischievous laws and bad examples of some governments I have passed through, I am persuaded I should be able to give you a still better account of our fellow-creatures. But I am hastening to countries, where goodness, if natural to the human heart, will appear inde-

pendent of example, and furnish an illustration of the character of man, not unworthy of him, who wrote the Declaration of Independence. I did not hear of the death of M. de Vergennes until I arrived here. Permit me to express my regret at the loss of so great and so good a man. Permit me, also, to congratulate you, as the minister of my country, on account of the additional commercial privileges granted by France to America, and to express my ardent wishes, that the friendly spirit, which dictated them, may last for ever. I was extremely pleased at reading the account; and, to heighten the satisfaction, I found the name of La Fayette there.

"An equipment is now on foot here for the sea of Kamtschatka, and it is first to visit the Northwest Coast of America. It is to consist of four ships. This, and the expedition that went from here twelve months since by land for Kamtschatka, are to co-operate in a design of some sort in the Northern Pacific Ocean; the Lord knows what, nor does it matter what, with me, nor indeed with you, nor any other minister, nor any potentate, south of fifty degrees of latitude. I can only say, that you are in no danger of having the luxurious repose of your charming climates disturbed by a

second incursion of either Goth, Vandal, Hun, or Scythian.

"I dined to-day with Professor Pallas. He is an accomplished man, and my friend, and has travelled throughout European and Asiatic Russia. I find the little French I have of infinite service to me. I could not do without it. It is a most extraordinary language. I believe wolves, rocks, woods, and snow understand it, for I have addressed them all in it, and they have all been very complaisant to me. We had a Scythian at table, who belongs to the Royal Society of Physicians here. The moment he knew me and my designs, he became my friend; and it will be by his generous assistance, joined with that of Professor Pallas, that I shall be able to procure a *Royal Passport*, without which I cannot stir. This must be done through an application to the French minister, there being no American minister here; and to his secretary I shall apply with Dr. Pallas to-morrow, and shall take the liberty to make use of your name, and that of the Marquis de la Fayette, as to my character. As all my letters of recommendation were English, and as I have hitherto been used by the English with the greatest kindness and respect, I first applied to the British minister,

but without success. The apology was, that the present political condition between Russia and England, would make it disagreeable for the British minister to ask any favour. The secretary of the French embassy will dispatch my letter, and one of his accompanying it to the Count Segur to-morrow morning. I will endeavour to write you again before I leave Petersburg, and give you some further accounts of myself. Meantime, I wish you health. I have written a short letter to the Marquis. Adieu."

It will be remembered, that at this time the Empress was absent on her famous jaunt to Kerson and the Krimea. She had left Petersburg in January, accompanied by Prince Potemkin, and many others of the courtiers and of the Russian nobility. The Austrian and French ambassadors were also in her train. She passed through Smolensk, and was now at Kief, where she remained amidst a brilliant assemblage of nobles from Poland and her Russian territories, till the spring was so far advanced, that she could proceed by water down the Dnieper, in the magnificent gallies prepared for the purpose.

While the Empress and her retinue were at Kief, a round of splendid entertainments, cere-

monies, and visits from eminent personages, occupied her time, and absorbed her thoughts, in addition to the great political projects, which she is said to have been meditating in regard to the conquest of Turkey. Had the French ambassador found an opportunity, therefore, amidst these scenes of gaiety and bustle, to present a petition to the Empress from an unknown individual, for a passport to travel through her dominions, it could not be thought strange, that she should have neglected to attend to it with the promptness which more important affairs might require. Weeks passed away, and no answer was returned. Ledyard's patience was severely tried by this delay, and he began to talk of going forward without any passport. On the fifteenth of May, after waiting nearly two months at Petersburg, he writes to Colonel Smith,—"My heart is oppressed; my designs are generous; why is my fate otherwise? The Count Segur has not yet sent me my passport. But this shall not stop me; I shall surmount all things, and at least deserve success." About this time he became acquainted with a Russian officer, who belonged to the family of the Grand Duke, and who took a lively interest in his concerns, and proffered his services. Ledyard says he was

not only "polite and friendly, but a *thinking* Russian." By the kind assistance of this gentleman he obtained his passport in fifteen days, and was prepared for his departure.

It was fortunate, that just at this time Mr. William Brown, a Scotch physician, was going to the province of Kolyvan, in the employment of the Empress. Ledyard joined him, and thus had a companion on his tour for more than three thousand miles. From this arrangement he enjoyed an important advantage, for Brown travelled at the expense of the government, and as Ledyard went with him by permission of the proper authority, his travelling charges were probably defrayed, in part at least, from the public funds. And, indeed, without this aid, it would have been impossible for him to move a step, for his own resources were completely exhausted. On his arrival in Petersburg his necessities were extreme, as his money was gone, and he was almost destitute of clothes. In this extremity he drew a bill for twenty guineas on Sir Joseph Banks, which he found some friend willing to accept, although he confessed, that Sir Joseph had not authorized him to draw, and that the payment of the bill would depend on his generosity. It was immediately paid when presented in Lon-

don, much to the honour of that munificent patron of science and enterprise. It is said, that a quantity of stores was sent under the care of Dr. Brown, to be forwarded to Mr. Billings at Yakutsk, who was employed in exploring those remote regions of Siberia and Kamtschatka, in the service of the Empress.

The party left Petersburg on the first of June, and in six days arrived at Moscow. During the last day's ride they overtook the Grand Duke and his retinue, who were going to Moscow to meet the Empress on her return from her pompous journey to the Krimea. The two travellers remained but one day in Moscow. They hired a person to go with them to Kazan, a distance of five hundred and fifty miles, and drive their *kibitka* with three horses. "Kibitka-travelling," says Ledyard, in his journal, "is the remains of caravan travelling; it is your only home; it is like a ship at sea." In this vehicle they were hurried along with considerable speed towards Kazan, through Vladimir, Nishnei Novogorod, and other towns. Kazan stands on the right bank of the majestic Wolga, and is the capital of a province of the same name. It is ranked among the first cities in the empire, containing a university, churches, convents, and other public buildings, some of

which are magnificent, and finished with much architectural taste and elegance. Immense quantities of grain are produced in this province, and also flax and leather for exportation. The soil is well cultivated, but low and unhealthy; and the inhabitants are a mixed population of Russians and Tartars.

They staid a week at Kazan, and then commenced their journey to Tobolsk, where they arrived on the eleventh of July, having crossed the Ural mountains, and passed the frontiers of Europe and Asia. The face of the country had hitherto been level, with hardly an eminence springing from the great plain, which spreads over the vast territory from Moscow to Tobolsk. The ascent of the Ural mountains was so gradual, as scarcely to form an exception to this general remark, and nothing could be more monotonous and dreary, than the interminable wastes, over which their route had led them since leaving Kazan, with here and there a miserable village, and unproductive culture of the soil. "The wretched appearance of the inhabitants," says our journalist, "is such as may generally be observed in a greater or less degree in those places, which are so unhappy as to be the frontiers between nations; like step-children are they." This is especially the

condition of the people throughout the whole extent of the China frontiers, that border on Russia. It is the policy of the government to preserve this belt of desolation, as a barrier against the too easy access of foreigners, and as a means of preventing contraband trade.

Tobolsk is a city of considerable interest, having been once the capital of all Siberia, and in early times the scene of a great battle between the renowned hero Yermak, and the Tartar prince, Koutchum Khan, in which the former was victorious. The city stands at the junction of two large rivers, the Tobol and Irtish, which there unite and flow on together, till their waters are mingled with the Obe, and thence conveyed to the Northern Ocean. It consists of the upper and lower town, the latter situate on the margin of the river, and the former on a commanding eminence, which overlooks the lower town and much of the adjacent country. Captain Cochrane, who visited this place a few years ago, was greatly pleased with its natural advantages and scenery, and the condition and comforts of the people. The town is well laid out into streets, contains handsome churches and other edifices, a well regulated market, and provisions of all kinds in abundance, and exceedingly cheap. He was

not less charmed with the society, for, although Tobolsk is the residence of exiles, they are such as have been sent to Siberia for political reasons, and not malefactors, these latter being accommodated with a residence and employment much farther in the interior, towards Kamtschatka. These political exiles are commonly persons of some culture and intelligence, for, as this author justly remarks, no government banishes *fools;* and the social circles of the better sort indicate a refinement and happiness, which might be envied in more civilized parts of the globe. So much was this traveller pleased with the wild and beautiful scenery on the banks of the Irtish, that he followed up the stream to the borders of China, enraptured at every step; nor was he satisfied, till he had contemplated, by moonlight, the deep solitudes, and lofty granite mountains, that constitute the bulwark of this northern boundary of the Celestial Empire.

But Captain Cochrane was an amateur traveller, wandering for amusement, and seeking odd adventures in the most promising theatre for them. Ledyard, on the contrary, was impelled forward by a single motive, and he would gladly have annihilated space and time, if he could have set his foot the next moment on the

American Continent. He did not traverse the wild wastes of Siberia to make discoveries, gaze at mountains, trace rivers to their sources, nor even to examine the economy of society and the condition of the people. He had a soul to admire whatever was grand or beautiful in nature, and to be strongly affected with the various states of human existence, as his observations abundantly prove; but he suffered these to make an incidental claim only on his attention, keeping them subordinate to his great design and absorbing purpose. Hence he stopped no longer in any place, than was necessary to prepare for a new departure. Three days he and his companion stayed at Tobolsk, and then continued their journey to Barnaoul, the capital of the province of Kolyvan. At this place he was to leave Dr. Brown, and proceed alone. For this gentleman he had contracted a sincere esteem, and was prevailed upon to remain in Barnaoul a week, out of regard to the kindness, and in compliance with the solicitation, of his friend.

In many respects, Barnaoul is one of the most agreeable places of residence in Siberia. The province, of which it is the capital, is a rich mining district, and this brings together in the town persons of science and respectability,

who are employed as public officers to superintend the working of the mines. The surrounding country, moreover, is well suited to agriculture, abounding in good lands for pasture and grain, supporting vast herds of cattle, and producing vegetables in great profusion. In consequence of these bounties of nature, there is an overflowing and cheap market, an absence of want, and much positive happiness among the people.

Ledyard was lodged at Barnaoul in the house of the treasurer, by whom he was treated with great hospitality. He dined twice with the governor, and also with two old discharged officers of the army, who, at their own request, had quitted the service, and become judges and justices of the law. He was shown the armorial bearings of forty-two provinces in the empire. The governor told him, that the salt, produced by the salt lakes in the province of Kolyvan, yielded somewhat more to the revenue than the mines, and also that the aggregate amount of revenue from that province, was greater than from any other. In respect to gold and silver, this is no doubt the case at the present day, but in regard to the salt it is uncertain. There are said to be salt lakes in Siberia, so much saturated with saline matter,

that the salt crystallizes of its own accord, and adheres in this state to pieces of wood, and other substances put into the water.

Kolyvan is near the middle point between Petersburg and Okotsk, it being somewhat more than three thousand miles in opposite directions to each of those places.* Barnaoul stands on the bank of the river Obe, which is a broad and noble stream where it passes the town. It is in the fifty-third degree of north latitude, and in the last week of July the mornings were exceedingly hot, the sky cloudless and serene, and the atmosphere perfectly calm. In the afternoon a gentle breeze would spring up, increase by degrees till evening, and continue through the night. Rains are not frequent in Kolyvan.

* In his Journal, Ledyard enters the following distances, which he says were taken from a Russian Almanac. In the second column I have reduced the versts to English miles. Three versts are equal to two miles.

	Versts.	Miles.
From Petersburg to Barnaoul	4539....	3026
Barnaoul to Irkutsk	1732....	1155
Irkutsk to Yakutsk	2266....	1510
Yakustk to Okotsk	952....	635
Okotsk to Awateka in Kamtschatka..	1065....	710
Whole distance from Petersburgh to Kamtschatka	10554....	7036

The following extract is from that part of the journal, which was written at Barnaoul, and contains remarks on what came under the writer's notice during his journey to that place.

"The face of the country from Petersburg to Kolyvan is one continued plain. The soil, before arriving at Kazan, is very well cultivated; afterwards cultivation gradually ceases. On the route to Kazan we saw large mounds of earth, often of twenty, thirty, and forty feet elevation, which I conjectured, and on inquiry found, to be ancient sepulchres. There is an analogy between these and our own graves, and the Egyptian pyramids; and an exact resemblance between them, and those piles supposed to be of monumental earth, which are found among some of the tribes of North America. We first saw Tartars before our arrival at Kazan; and also a woman with her nails painted red, like the Cochin Chinese.

"Notwithstanding the modern introduction of linen into Russia, the garments of the peasantry still retain not only the form, but the manner of ornamenting them, which was practised when they wore skins. This resembles the Tartar mode of ornamenting, and is but a modification of the *wampum* ornament, which is still discernible, westward from Russia to

Denmark, among the Finlanders, Laplanders, and Swedes. The nice gradation by which I pass from civilization to incivilization, appears in everything; in manners, dress, language; and particularly in that remarkable and important circumstance, *colour*, which I am now fully convinced originates from natural causes, and is the effect of external and local circumstances. I think the same of *feature*. I see here the large mouth, the thick lip, the broad flat nose, as well as in Africa. I see also in the same village as great a difference of complexion—from the fair hair, fair skin, and white eyes, to the olive, the black jetty hair and eyes; and these all of the same language, same dress, and, I suppose, same tribe. I have frequently observed in Russian villages, obscure and dirty, mean and poor, that women of the peasantry paint their faces, both red and white. I have had occasion from this and other circumstances to suppose, that the Russians are a people, who have been early attached to luxury. They are every where fond of *éclat*. 'Sir,' said a Russian officer to me, in Petersburg, 'we pay no attention to any thing but *éclat*.' The contour of their manners is Asiatic, and not European. The Tartars are universally neater than the Russians, particularly in

their houses. The Tartar, however situated, is a voluptuary; and it is an original and striking trait in their character, from the Grand Seignior, to him who pitches his tent on the wild frontiers of Russia and China, that they are more addicted to real sensual pleasure, than any other people. The Emperor of Germany, the Kings of England and France, have pursuits that give an entirely different turn to their enjoyments: and so have their respective subjects. Would a Tartar live on *Vive le Roi?* Would he spend ten years in constructing a watch? or twenty in forming a telescope?

"In the United States of America, as in Russia, we have made an effort to convert our Tartars to think, and act like us: but to what effect? Among us, Sampson Occum, was pushed the farthest within the pale of civilization; but, just as the sanguine divine, who brought him there, was forming the highest expectations, he fled, and sought his own elysium in the bosom of his native forests. In Russia they have had none so distinguished; here they are commonly footmen, or lackeys of some other kind. The Marquis de la Fayette had a young American Tartar, of the Onandago tribe, who came to see him, and the Marquis, at much expense, equipped him in rich In-

dian dresses. After staying some time, he did as Occum did. When I was at school at Mount Ida [Dartmouth College], many Indians were there, most of whom gave some promise of being civilized, and some were sent forth to preach; but as far as I observed myself, and have been since informed, they all returned to the home and customs of their fathers, and followed the inclinations, which nature had so deeply enstamped on their character."

To these remarks is here added part of a letter written to Mr. Jefferson from Barnaoul, dated on the twenty-ninth of July, 1787.

"How I have come thus far, and how I am to go still farther, is an enigma that I must disclose to you on some happier occasion. I shall never be able, without seeing you in person, and perhaps not then, to inform you how universally and circumstantially the Tartars resemble the Aborigines of America. They are the same people; the most ancient and the most numerous of any other; and had not a small sea divided them, they would all have been still known by the same. The cloak of civilization sets as ill upon them, as upon our American Tartars. They have been a long time Tartars, and it will be a long time before they will be any other kind of people.

"I shall send this letter to Petersburg, to the care of Professor Pallas. He will transmit it to you, together with one for the Marquis, in the mail of the Count Segur. My health is perfectly good; but notwithstanding the vigour of my body, my mind keeps the start of me, and I anticipate my future fate with the most lively ardour. Pity it is, that in such a career one should be subjected, like a horse, to the beggarly impediments of sleep and hunger.

"The banks of the large rivers in this country everywhere abound with something curious in the fossil world. I have found the leg-bone of a very large animal on the banks of the Obe, and have sent it to Dr. Pallas, requesting him to render me an account of it hereafter. It is either an elephant's or a rhinoceros' bone. The latter animal has been in this country. There is a complete head of one in a state of high preservation at Petersburg. I am a curiosity here myself. Those who have heard of America flock round to see me. Unfortunately, the marks on my hands* procure me and my countrymen the appellation of wild men. Among the better sort we are somewhat

* The *tattoo* marks made on his hands at Otaheite.

more known. The governor and his family have got a peep at the history of our existence, through the medium of an antiquated pamphlet of some kind. We have, however, two stars, that shine even in the galaxy of Barnaoul, and the healths of Dr. Franklin and of General Washington have been drunk, in compliment to me, at the governor's table. I am treated with the greatest hospitality here. Hitherto I have fared comfortably when I could make a port anywhere, but when totally in the country I have been a little incommoded. Hospitality, however, I have found as universal as the face of man. When you read this, perhaps two months before you do, if I do well, I shall be at Okotsk, where I will do myself the honour to trouble you again, and if possible will write more at large. My compliments wait on all my Parisian friends."

After spending a week very agreeably in Barnaoul, he made preparations for recommencing his journey. From this place to Irkutsk it was arranged, that he should travel post with the courier, who had charge of the mail. All things being in readiness, he writes—"I waited on the governor with my passport; he was well pleased with it; gave me a corporal to conduct the affairs of the mail; said

I had nothing to do but sit in the kibitka, and mustered up French enough to say, *Monsieur, je vous souhaite un bon voyage.* I took an affectionate farewell of the worthy Dr. Brown, and left Barnaoul." The next stopping-place on the route was Tomsk, distant three hundred miles, which were passed over in two days and three nights. The river Tom, which flows near this town, is as large as the Irtish, where it is crossed by the main road above Tobolsk, and was the first river met with by our traveller since leaving Petersburg, which had either a gravelly bottom or shore. On its banks were found little mounds of earth, which were ascertained to have been the habitations of the natives, who dwelt there before the conquest of the country by the Russians.* The

* In Bell's *Journey from Petersburg to Pekin*, with the Russian embassy, in the year 1720, the author gives a curious account of the mounds in the regions about Tomsk. He considers them the tombs of ancient heroes, who fell in battle. "Many persons go from Tomsk," he observes, "and other parts, every summer, to these graves, which they dig up, and find among the ashes of the dead considerable quantities of gold, silver, brass, and some precious stones; but particularly hilts of swords and armour. They find, also, ornaments of saddles and bridles, and other trappings for horses; and even the bones of horses, and sometimes those of elephants. Whence it appears, that when any general or person of distinction was in-

nights, he remarked, were very cold, more so than he had known them in any country, where it was at the same time so hot by day. All the way from Barnaoul, and particularly in its neighbourhood, were perceived the ruinous effects of the violent winds, that frequently produce great devastation in those parts of Siberia. Forest trees and fields of grain were indiscriminately blown down and destroyed. The hospitality of the inhabitants, however, was unabated. They could rarely be prevailed upon to take any thing for provisions or accommodation. On one occasion, for as much barley soup, onions, *quass*, bread, and milk, as made a hearty meal for the traveller and his corporal, the good woman, who furnished them, consented to receive one *kopeek*, and nothing more.*

terred, all his arms, his favourite horse, and servant, were buried with him in the same grave. This custom prevails to this day among the Kalmucks and other Tartars, and seems to be of great antiquity. It appears from the number of graves, that many thousands must have fallen on these plains, for the people have continued to dig for such treasure many years, and still find it unexhausted. They are sometimes, indeed, interrupted and robbed of all their booty by parties of the Kalmucks, who abhor the disturbing the ashes of the dead." Vol. I. p. 253.

* The value of the *kopeek* varies at different times. Ledyard states it to have been about one tenth of an English penny, when he was in Siberia. In Dr. Clarke's Travels it is put down as equal to an English half-penny.

They were detained two or three days at Tomsk, waiting for a mail, that was coming by another route from Tobolsk; but the commandant was affable and generous, and did not allow the time to pass heavily. He was somewhat of a singularity, being a Frenchman, born in Paris, now seventy-three years old, having resided twenty-five years in Siberia, and more than thirty in Russia. He spoke his native language imperfectly, and wrote it still worse. His favourite topic was the dignity of his birth, and the high rank of his family. But Ledyard wished to know more about Siberia at that moment, than of the genealogy or rank of the families in France, and he ventured to ask the old man if the town, or its environs, afforded any thing valuable or curious in natural history. His answer was, that there were thieves, rogues, liars, and villains of every description. The conversation was pushed no further in the way of philosophical inquiry, for it was evident the Frenchman's thoughts had run very little in that channel.

There was truth in his remark, although uttered somewhat out of place. Tomsk had long been the rendezvous of the worst class of exiles, who had been banished for their crimes, and could not be expected to exercise a very

salutary influence on society, or to become pattern members of it themselves. Poverty and wretchedness, the accompaniments of vice, formed here some of the prominent objects in the foreground of the picture, and beggars daily thronged the streets, as in the most populous regions of the civilized world. The charity and kind feelings of the better sort of inhabitants, however, afforded a pleasing contrast to this debasement and suffering. Ledyard observes, that the family with whom he lodged, were accustomed every morning to lay aside in the window ten or twelve farthing pieces for the charitable purposes of the day. Considering the extraordinary cheapness of food, this would afford relief to many persons. The beggars began their rounds at an early hour, and went regularly from house to house, and were very rarely sent away without something. Those, who did not give money, gave bread. Some of the beggars were in irons. The people asked no questions, but appeared to give cheerfully and without grudging. The demand was uniformly made, *pour l'amour de Dieu*, "for which," says the journalist, "one may have more in this country, than in any other I have seen."

In ten days from the time of leaving Tomsk, the traveller and his corporal were safely

arrived in Irkutsk, over a road, of which he speaks in no terms of commendation. The river Yenissey was crossed at the town of Krasnojarsk, where the commandant pressed him to stop long enough to dine, and celebrated the event of a stranger's arrival, with such free potations as to become intoxicated. From Tomsk to Yenissey, the country exhibited rather an agreeable aspect, and marks of cultivation. Ledyard observes, that in this region he "first finds the real craggy, peaked hill, or mountain," and from Krasnojarsk to Irkutsk was the first stony road which he had passed over in the Russian dominions. The streets of Tobolsk, and some of the other towns on his route, were paved with wood.

"Passing on east from the Yenissey to Irkutsk the country is thinly peopled. A very few, and those miserable houses, are to be seen on the road, and none at all at a distance from it. The country is hilly, rough, mountainous, and covered with thick forests. The rivers here also have all rocky beds, and are rapid in the degree of three to five miles an hour. The autumnal rains are begun, and they have set in severely. I am now in Irkutsk, and have stayed in my quarters all day to take a little rest, after a very fatiguing journey, rendered so

by sundry very disagreeable circumstances: going with the courier, and driving with wild Tartar horses, at a most rapid rate, over a wild and ragged country; breaking and upsetting kibitkas; beswarmed with musquetoes; all the way hard rains; and when I arrived at Irkutsk I was, and had been for the last forty-eight hours, wet through and through, and covered with one complete mass of mud."

CHAPTER IX.

Residence at Irkutsk.—Miscellaneous remarks on the inhabitants, and the productions of the country.—Accounts of the Tartars.—Unsuccessful attempts to civilize them.—Fur trade on the American coast.—Visit to the Lake Baikal.—Further remarks on the character and manners of the Kalmuks and other Tartars.—Leaves Irkutsk for the river Lena.—Scenery around the Baikal.—Rivers flowing into it.—Extraordinary depth of its waters.—They are fresh, but contain seals, and fish, peculiar to the ocean.—Estimate of the number of rivers in Siberia, and of the quantity of water they pour into the Frozen Ocean.—Ledyard proceeds down the Lena in a bateau.—Romantic scenery along the margin of the river.—Hospitality of the inhabitants.—Ends his voyage at Yakutsk.

LEDYARD staid in Irkutsk about ten days, and his observations and general reflections during that time may be best understood by extracts from his journal, as they were written on the spot. They are rather in the nature of hints and first thoughts, than of a regular narrative, but they will show his inquisitive turn of mind, and his eagerness for acquiring such knowledge, as accorded with the general objects of his travels.

"*August* 16th. I have not been out this morning, but I shrewdly suspect by what I see from my poor talc window, that I shall even here find the fashionable follies, the ridiculous

extravagance, and ruinous *éclat* of Petersburg. I have been out, and my suspicions were well founded. Dined with a brigadier, a colonel, and a major, a little out of town; they are Germans. Had at the table a French exile, who had been an adjutant. Scarcely a day passes but an exile of some sort arrives. Most of the inhabitants of this remote part of Siberia are convicts. The country here was formerly inhabited by the Mongul or Kalmuk Tartars, who are, I conclude, the same people. Find no account of the *Calumet*. The French exile had been at Quebec, and thinks the Tartars here much inferior to the American Indians, both in their understanding and persons. I observe the Tongusians have not the Mongul or Kalmuk faces, but moderately long, and considerably like the European face. These Tongusians form the second class of Tartars, so obviously distinguishable by their features from other Tartars, and from Europeans. What I call the third class are the light eyed and fair complexioned Tartars, which class I believe includes the Cossacs. The Tchuktchi are the only northern Tartars, that remain unsubjected to the government.

"The town of Irkutsk is the residence of the Governor-General, Jacobi, and of a military

commander, and has in it two battalions of infantry. It has two thousand poor log houses, and ten churches. Jacobi's authority extends from here to the Pacific Ocean, an immense territory. I waited this morning on the director of the bank, Mr. Karamyscheff, who was a pupil of Linnæus. He is very assiduous to oblige me in everything, and sent for three Kalmuks in the dress of their country. Nothing particularly curious about them, but their pipes, which are coarsely made of copper by themselves; the form altogether Chinese. Karamyscheff informs me, that the Monguls and Kalmuks are the same people. From his house I went with the *Conseiller d'Etat*, who introduced me to Jacobi, the Governor. He is an old, venerable man, and although, I believe, with Pallas, that he is *un homme de bois*, yet he received me standing and uncovered. Our conversation was merely respecting my going with the post, which he granted me, and, besides, told me that I should be particularly well accommodated, wished me a successful voyage, and that my travels might be productive of information to mankind. I conversed with him in French, through the interpretation of the Conseiller.

" This latter gentleman gave me the follow-

ing information. 'The white Tartars you saw about Kazan are natives of that country, and we call them Kazan Tartars. Kazan was once a kingdom of theirs. From this place to Yakutsk you pass among the Kalmuks. At Yakutsk you will see the Yakuti, and also the Tongusians, who are more personable than the Kalmuks, or Monguls, and more sensible; but the Yakuti are more sensible than either. They are indeed a people of good natural parts and genius, and by experience are found capable of any kind of learning. From Yakutsk you pass through the Tongusians all the way to Okotsk. In the time of Jenghis Khan, the Thibet Tartars, that is, the Kalmuks, or Monguls, made incursions into this country. We have two hundred thousand Russians, and, as nearly as we can estimate, half that number of Indians of all descriptions in this province. Marriages in and near the villages take place between the Russians and Tartars, but they are not frequent. I believe the extreme cold, and want of snow here during winter, and the sudden change of weather in the summer, to be the reason why we can have no fruit here. We have often, in the months of May and June, ice three and four inches thick. Besides, this country, as you have observed, is subject to terrible gales of

wind, which blow away both bud and blossom. We have, nevertheless, a few little apples, which we eat at our tables, and they are not without flavour.' Thus much the Conseiller.

" The forest trees in this country are almost altogether birch; they are generally rotten at the heart. Mr. Karamyscheff tells me, that there are many bones of the rhinoceros in these parts of Siberia, and also the same large bones, that are found on the banks of the Ohio in America. It seems, that the places in which to find those bones, and other curious fossils, are at the mouths of the great rivers Yenissey, Lena, Kolyma, and others, among the islands that are formed where they flow into the sea. Here they are all lodged, after having been washed from under ground by the rivers in the different countries which they traverse.

" *August* 17th. To-day it seems the jubilee is observed, on account of the Empress having reigned twenty-five years. In coming from Karamyscheff's I met the Governor-General and his suite of officers, the brigadier I dined with yesterday, and other dignitaries, to the number of two hundred, all going to dine with the Governor, who keeps open house on the occasion. The governor and other officers saluted me as they passed; those, who did not

know me, wondering what could procure such attention to one so poorly and oddly attired. I was pressed by some of the company to go and dine. Had my clothes been good, I would have gone. But I dined with Karamyscheff. It is a Tartar name, and he is of Tartarian extraction. Saw an apple tree in his garden. The fruit, as he described it, would be as large as a full sized pea in France or England. It is the genuine apple tree, and their naturalists distinguish it by the name of the *pyrus baccata*. These are the only apples in Siberia.

" Karamyscheff says the Yakuti Tartars are the *véritables Tartars*, by which I understand, that they are a less mixed race than the others. Their language, he says, is the oldest language, and that other tribes understand it. The Yakuti formerly possessed this country, but they were driven out by the Kalmuks, who made a succession of attacks upon them, and pursued them to the Lena, down which they fled, and settled at Yakutsk. Karamyscheff has in his house four children descended from a Kalmuk father and Russian mother. The first resembles the father, and is entirely Kalmuk: the second the mother, with fair hair and eyes; one of the others is Kalmuk, and the other Russian. They are all healthy and well looking children.

I saw three of them. Karamyscheff knows not among what people to rank the Kamtschadales. He acknowledges, with me, that their faces are entirely Kalmuk, but says they came from America. This controverts the common opinion, that America was peopled after Asia. But he is carried away with the wild notions of the French naturalist, Buffon. I find universally, that the Tartars wear their beards. The ears of Kalmuk, or Mongul Tartars, project universally farther from the head, than those of Europeans. I measured the ears of the Kalmuks at Karamyscheff's to-day, and on an average they projected one and a half inch, and they were by no means extraordinary examples. The ears of the Chinese are similar.

"We have French and Spanish wines here, but so adulterated, that I was told of it before I knew it to be wine. Karamyscheff is fully sensible of the luxury and vanity I complain of in this country, which is but *beginning to begin*, as I told him to-day. He laments it, and declared frankly to me, that patriotism and the true solid virtues of a citizen are hardly known. The geographical termination of Russia, and the commencement of Siberia, is at the city of Perm. The natural boundary is the river Yenissey. I observe that the face of the coun-

try is very different on this side of the Yenissey, and Karamyscheff, who is a botanist, says the vegetable productions differ as much.

"*August* 18th. Went this morning to see some curiosities from different parts of Siberia. Saw also a piece of Sandwich Island cloth, which was obtained from Captain Cook's ship at Kamtschatka, when he was there. In the collection was the skin of a Chinese goat, the hair of which was the whitest, longest, and most delicate that I ever saw; also some excellent sea-otter skins, the largest of which were valued at two hundred roubles; likewise a bow, quiver, and all the military apparatus of a Kalmuk, which was very heavy. The Kalmuks and Monguls here receive the common name of the Buretti.

"I went to the Archbishop's to see a young savage of the Tchuktchi. The good bishop had taken great pains to *humanize* him (as Dr. Wheelock had done with Sampson Occum, whose story I related on this occasion); but he informed us, that he had lately taken to drink, and died drunk; or in the bishop's own words, 'somebody had one day given him half a rouble, and he went out with it, but never returned, and was found dead by the side of a Kabak.' Dined with my friend Karamyscheff

again to-day, who presented me, in lieu of a domestic, a young lieutenant to go with me and buy a few things; 'But,' said he, 'don't put any money in his hands, he will not return it.' We had at table the wife of a clerk to Mr. Karamyscheff, whose mother was a savage from the Tchuktchi regions, and her father a Russian. She is a fine creature, and her complexion a good middling colour. It strengthens my opinion, that the difference of colour in man is not the effect of any design in the Creator, but of causes simple in themselves, which will perhaps soon be well ascertained. It is an extraordinary circumstance, but I think I ought not on that account to conclude, that it is not the result of natural causes.

"*August* 19th. For the second time I have observed, that in the wells, about twelve feet down, there is a great deal of ice adhering to the sides. I went this morning to see a merchant who was the owner of a vessel, that had passed from Kamtschatka to different parts of the coast of America. He showed me some charts, rudely descriptive of his voyages; says there are, on different parts of the coast of America, two thousand Russians; and that, as nearly as he can judge, the number of skins, procured by them in that country, amounts

to twelve thousand. He has a vessel at Okotsk, which leaves that place for America next summer, and he offers me a passage in her.

"Dined to-day with a German colonel, and after dinner set out for the Lake Baikal, which, in the Kalmuk language, signifies the *North Sea*. The Kalmuks, or Monguls, originally lived on the south of this lake, towards China and Thibet. After a good and cheerful dinner with the colonel, we mounted his drosky, with post horses, and took our departure for the lake. After seven hours' ride over a miserable road, we arrived at the little hamlet of St. Nicholas, where formerly the Russian ambassadors resided, before they embarked to cross the lake for China. This village has a church in it, dedicated to St. Nicholas, and all the sailors on the lake resort to it. We lodged here through the night, and early next morning resumed our journey, and reached the border of the lake. Here are six or seven houses, among which the largest was ordered to be built by the Empress, for the accommodation of all strangers that pass this way; and also a galliot, which plies as a packet, in the summer, across the lake.

"We hailed the galliot, which was at anchor

in the lake. The captain came ashore, and we went off with him in a small boat, with line and lead, to take soundings; but having only fifty fathoms of line, and it raining very hard, we could not make much progress. At the distance of one hundred feet from the shore, my whole length of line was taken up. We retired to the house, breakfasted, and waited an hour for the rain to abate; but, finding it to continue, we requested the captain to send us in his boat to Irkutsk. He complied with our request, and made a canopy of hides to defend us from the rain. We sent our drosky back by the post-boy, and embarked with two sailors to row us. We passed along the margin of the lake to the outlet, where the river Angara begins, and thence down the river to Irkutsk, a distance of about forty-five miles. This lake is seven hundred and sixty-nine versts, (five hundred and thirteen miles) in its longest part, and sixty versts (forty miles) in its broadest. Its depth is said to be unfathomable. It has an annual ebb and flux; the one is caused by the autumnal rains, and the other by the dry season in spring. It has emptying into it one hundred and sixty-nine small streams, from twenty to eighty yards wide, and three larger ones, from a quarter to half a mile wide. It has

but one outlet, by which to dispose of the redundancy from all these influxes, and that is the river Angara, which is a Kalmuk name. It is no more than a quarter of a mile wide, where it springs from the lake, is very shallow, and far from being rapid.

"*August* 22d. The government of Irkutsk has four provinces, namely, Irkutsk, Yakutsk, Nartschintsk, and Okotsk. These are divided into several districts each. The governor sent me a surveyor, with the latest chart of the great territory embracing these provinces. By measurement I found its latitudinal extent, from its southern extremity to the Icy Ocean north, to be two thousand seven hundred versts, and its longitudinal extent, from its western boundary to Tchuktchi Nos, its eastern extremity at Bering's Strait, to be three thousand nine hundred versts.

"I am informed by the Governor, that the post will not be ready for three days.

"*August* 23d. The commerce of Irkutsk is very small with Europe, and consequently at present at a very low ebb, since there is no open trade with the Chinese, its nearest neighbours, of a commercial character. The frontiers, between this country and China, are principally defended by an army of Buretti, or

Kalmuk Tartars. They are mostly horsemen, like the Cossacs in the western dominions, and amount to more than five thousand men. There are two convents near this town, one of men and the other of women, separated by a river. I observe in Siberia, that in all the cities there is one great burying place, and that wherever this is (and it is commonly out of the town), there is likewise a church, and the best church of the place. This is but another kind of pyramid, a large mound, or a mound modified.

"*August* 25th. This morning I leave town. The land is well cultivated on the borders of the river, and is good. Among the Buretti, or Kalmuks, I observe the American *moccasin*, the common moccasin, like the Finland moccasin. The houses of the Buretti have octagonal sides, covered with turf, with a fire-place in the centre, and an aperture for smoke; the true American *wigwam*, and like the first Tartar house I saw in this country, which was near Kazan. Mr. Karamyscheff says they have the wild horse on their Chinese frontiers. The Buretti here ride and work the horned cattle; they perforate the cartilage of the nose, and put a cord through it to guide them by.

This is to be wondered at, as the country is level, and they have vast droves of horses.

"*August* 26th. Hard white frost last night, and very cold. Run away with by these furious unbroke Tartar horses, and saved myself each time by jumping out of the kibitka. Thank Heaven, ninety versts more will probably put an end to my kibitka journeying for ever."

Such are some of the brief notes entered in his journal, while he was at Irkutsk. He was detained on account of the delay of the post, and made the best use of his time in collecting such information, as he supposed would be serviceable to him in his future travels. The inquiries, of which he was peculiarly fond, respecting the different races of men, their origin, classification, and distinctions, were here pursued with his customary diligence and discrimination. But it should always be borne in mind, that he did not intend his journal for anything more than a repository of loose hints, which might assist his recollection, when the occasion for using them should occur. They were never afterwards revised or altered, but have been preserved in the original form in which he recorded them on his journey. This fact should claim for them all the indulgence,

which their incoherency, or want of maturity, may seem to require.

The Lake Baikal in some respects is one of the most remarkable bodies of water on the globe. Other travellers have given its dimensions somewhat differently from Ledyard, varying from three hundred to six hundred miles in length, and from forty-five to sixty miles in width, where it is the broadest. Ledyard probably measured it on the chart just mentioned. All travellers agree, however, that the scenery around this lake is the most picturesque, bold, and imposing, imaginable. The Angara bursts out from the lake, between immense battlements of perpendicular rocks, which, if we may judge from Bell's description of them, surpass in grandeur the famous passage of the Potomac through the Blue Ridge at Harper's Ferry. For about a mile after leaving the lake, there is a continued rapid, extending across the whole breadth of the stream, and admitting of no boat communication, except by a narrow channel on the east side, up which boats are towed, and propelled with poles, from the village of St. Nicholas into the lake. Around the entire circumference of the lake, and particularly on the north, lofty and craggy mountains are seen piled one above another, in the

wildest confusion, and masses of rock rising like towers from the very margin of the water. Down the ravines and precipices thus formed, the numerous tributary streams pour themselves into this great reservoir. Pallas was inclined to believe, that the enormous gulf, which forms the basin of the Baikal, was caused by a violent disruption of the earth, at some very remote period.

The Selinga, a river which empties itself into this lake from the south, is larger at its mouth than the Angara, where it issues from the lake. It has its source in the Chinese dominions, and is navigable for many miles into the interior. Another river, called the Eastern Angara, and probably larger than the Selinga, comes in from the north. To these must be added the contributions of more than a hundred and sixty other streams, of various sizes. It is difficult to imagine what becomes of the immense quantity of water thus poured into the lake, when it is considered that there is but a single outlet. The width of this outlet Ledyard states at a quarter of a mile, but Bell says it appeared to him a mile. In either case, the water discharged by it would be in no proportion to the quantity which falls into the lake. In a warmer region, as in that where the lake

Tsad is situate, in Africa, the surplus might be easily disposed of by evaporation; but in so cold a climate as that of Irkutsk, this is hardly possible. The conjecture of an internal communication with the great ocean, would seem to afford the only plausible solution of the difficulty. Lake Superior contains a larger body of water, has a small outlet, and is in a climate perhaps as cold; but it receives comparatively slender contributions from rivers. A similar remark may be made as to the Caspian Sea, and the Sea of Aral. The water of the Baikal is fresh. No bottom has ever yet been reached by the sounding line. When Bell crossed it, a hundred years ago, with the Russian ambassador, on his way to Pekin, a line of more than nine hundred feet in length was let down, without touching the bottom. The report of Professor Pallas on this point is not so explicit as might have been expected from a scientific traveller. He says, that a ball of packthread, *weighing more than an ounce*, had been used as a sounding line, but no bottom was found.* What length he would assign to an ounce of

* "Le Baïkal a une si grande profondeur dans le milieu, et sur les côtes septentrionales, qu'on a déroulé un peloton de ficelle pesant plus d'une once, pour sonder, sans trouver de fond." *Voyages du Professeur Pallas*, Tom. VI. p. 118.

packthread is not revealed to his readers. We have seen, that one hundred feet from the shore, Ledyard's line of three hundred feet met with no obstruction. On all sides the shore is bold and dangerous, with hardly an anchoring place, except at the mouths of the large rivers. If the water could be removed, there would probably be exposed a cavity, or fissure, equal to the present dimensions of the lake, and extending to a great depth into the earth. Professor Pallas thinks the ordinary level of the lake was once higher, and that it flowed over the low country at the mouth of the Selinga, which is now inhabited. No lava, or volcanic appearances, have been noticed in the regions about the lake.

It is considered very remarkable, that the fish called *chien de mer* is found in the Baikal. This is mentioned by Pallas and Ledyard. The natural element of this fish is the ocean, and it is very rarely known, as the Professor says, to enter rivers, even for a small distance. How it should get into the Baikal, a fresh water lake, at least three thousand miles from the ocean, taking the windings of the river into the account, is deemed a problem of no easy solution, especially as this fish has never been known either in the Yenissey, or Angara, by which

the waters of the lake pass into the Northern Sea.* He is not satisfied with this course of migration, and would look for a more extraordinary cause, but does not venture an opinion on the subject. The Baikal contains seals, also, whose usual residence is in the salt water. Whether they came up the Yenissey and Angara, is another question to be settled. Bell thinks they did. Pallas is silent on the subject, and so is Ledyard. The skins of these seals are preferred to those of salt water seals. The inhabitants have a treacherous mode of taking these animals. In winter the seals are obliged occasionally to come up through holes in the ice for respiration; over these holes the seal-catcher spreads nets, in which the unwary animal is entangled, when he escapes from his nether element.

In the part of the journal to which we have now come, are contained some curious speculations respecting the number of rivers in Siberia, and the quantity of water, which is continually disembogued by them into the Northern Ocean. On his route from Moscow to Irkutsk, Ledyard had crossed twenty-five large navigable rivers, whose courses were north. The

* The Angara falls into the Yenissey, on its way to the ocean.

Yenissey, where he passed it, runs at the rate of about five miles an hour, and generally the rivers on the east of the Yenissey run two or three miles in an hour swifter than the western ones, between the Yenissey and Moscow. He thinks these twenty-five rivers, taken together, had an average width of half a mile where he crossed them. He also ascertained that there were twelve rivers, of a similar description, between Irkutsk and Kamtschatka, making in all thirty-seven. Allowing these rivers to be twice as wide at their mouths, as at these interior points, which is evidently a moderate estimate, we shall have a column of water thirty-seven miles wide, and of the average depth of rivers, a mile in width, constantly flowing into the Frozen Ocean, with a velocity of at least three or four miles an hour. His inference from the whole is, that such an immense body of fresh water incessantly discharged, at points so near each other, and so near the pole, must have a sensible effect in creating and perpetuating the ice in those latitudes. Whatever may be thought of this theory, it is an unquestionable fact, that a much larger quantity of water is conveyed by rivers, from Siberia into the Frozen Ocean, than runs into the sea in any other part of the globe, within the same com-

pass. Whether these streams are mainly fed by native springs, or by the melting of snows, and whether the superabundance of these snows is produced by vapours wafted from warmer climes, are topics of inquiry that must be left to those who are inclined to pursue them. Snow cannot be formed without moisture; but where the surface of the earth is bound in frost six or eight months in a year, there can be little evaporation or moisture. If snow still continues to fall and accumulate, whence is it that the atmosphere is surcharged with the vapours necessary for this operation?

We left our traveller with his kibitka, on his first day's journey from Irkutsk northward. It was now the twenty-sixth of August, and the forest trees had begun to drop their foliage, and put on the garb of autumn. The country in the environs of Irkutsk was well cultivated, containing five fields of wheat, rye, barley, extensive pasture lands, and a good breed of cattle. The sheep were of the large-tailed kind, such as are found at the Cape of Good Hope, but the mutton was not well flavoured.

In company with Lieutenant Laxman, a Swedish officer, Ledyard embarked on the river Lena, at a point one hundred and fifty miles

distant from Irkutsk, with the intention of floating down its current to Yakutsk. This river navigation was fourteen hundred miles. Where they entered their boat, the stream was no more than twenty yards broad, with here and there gentle rapids, and high rugged mountains on each side. They were carried along from eighty to a hundred miles a day, the river gradually increasing in size, and the mountain scenery putting on an infinite variety of forms, alternately sublime and picturesque, bold and fantastic, with craggy rocks and jutting headlands, bearing on their brows the verdure of pines, firs, larches, and other evergreens, and Alpine shrubs. All the way to Yakutsk, the river was studded with islands, recurring at short intervals, which added to the romantic effect of the scenery, and made a voyage down the Lena, notwithstanding its many privations, by no means an unpleasant trip to a true lover of nature, and a hardy veteran traveller. The weather was growing cold, and heavy fogs hung about the river till a late hour in the morning. They daily passed small towns and villages, where they went ashore for provisions, or refreshment, as occasion required.

"*August* 30th. We stopped at a village this

morning to procure a few stores. They killed for us a sheep, gave us three quarts of milk, two loaves of bread, cakes, with carrots and radishes baked in them, onions, one dozen of fresh and two dozen of salt fish, straw and bark to mend the covering of our boat; and all for the value of about fourteen-pence sterling. The poor creatures brought us the straw, to show us how their grain was blasted by the cruel frost, although it had been reaped before the twenty-first of August. The peasants say the mountains here are full of bears and wolves. We have seen a plenty of wild fowl, which we shoot as we please. In the river is the salmon-trout. The people fish with seines, and also with spears, by torchlight. This latter custom is a very universal one; they fish with a torch at Otaheite. The double-headed or Esquimaux paddle is used here.

"*September* 2d. My rascal of a soldier stole our brandy, and got drunk, and was impertinent. I was obliged to handle him roughly to preserve order.—Fixed a little sail to our boat.

"*September* 4th. Arrived at the town of Keringa at daylight, and stayed with the commandant till noon, and was treated very hospitably. Some merchants sent us stores. It

is the custom here, if they hear of the arrival of a foreigner, to load him with their little services. It is almost impossible to pass a town of any kind, without being arrested by them. They have the earnestness of hospitality; they crowd their tables with everything they have to eat and drink, and not content with that, they fill your wallet. I wish I could think them as honest as they are hospitable. The reason why the commandant did not show his wife, was because he was jealous of her. I have observed this to be a prevailing passion here. The river on each side as we pass, is bounded by vast rocky cliffs, the highest mass of rocks I ever saw.

"*September* 15h. Snow squalls, with fresh gales; up all night at the helm myself.

"*September* 17th. Ninety versts from Yakutsk. Passed yesterday a very odd arrangement of rocks, which line the margin of the river for sixty versts. They are of *talc*, and appear formerly to have been covered with earth, but are now entirely bare. They are all of a pyramidal form, and about one hundred and fifty feet in height; detached at their bases, and disposed with extraordinary regularity. These rocky pyramids appear to terminate the long mountainous south and east

banks of the Lena, which have uniformly continued from Katchuga, where I first embarked on the river."

On the eighteenth of September, he arrived at Yakutsk, after a fatiguing voyage of twenty-two days, in a small bateau on the Lena. During this period, he had passed from a summer climate to one of rigorous cold. When he left Irkutsk, it was just in the midst of harvest time, and the reapers were in the fields; but when he entered Yakutsk, the snow was six inches deep, and the boys were whipping their tops on the ice. He debarked from his bateau, two miles above the town, and there mounted a sledge, drawn by an ox, with a Yukuti Indian on his back, and guided by a cord, passing through the cartilage of his nose.

CHAPTER X.

Interview with the Commandent of Yakutsk.—Stopped at this place on account of the advanced state of the season.—His severe disappointment at this event.—Detained under false pretences.—Takes up his residence in Yakutsk for the winter.—Elephant's bones on the banks of the Lena, and in other parts of the country.—General remarks on the various tribes of Tartars in Siberia.—Characteristics of savages in cold and warm climates.—Kalmuks have two modes of writing.—Their manner of living.—The Yakuti Tartars.—Influence of religion upon them.—The love of freedom common to all the Tartars.—Their dwellings.—Intermarriages betwen the Russians and Tartars.—In what degree the colour of descendants is affected by such intermarriages.—Peculiarities of features in the Tartar countenance.—Form and use of the Tartar pipe.—Dress.—Difficulty of taking vocabularies of unknown languages.—Marriage ceremonies.—Notions of theology.—Practice of scalping.—Wampum.—Classification of the Tartars and North American Indians.—Language a criterion for judging of the affinity betwen the different races of men.—Causes of the difference of colour in the human race.—Tartars and American Indians the same people.

LEDYARD immediately waited on the commandant, delivered his letter from the Governor General, and made known his situation and designs. It was his wish to press forward with as much expedition as possible to Okotsk, lest the winter should shut in, before he could reach that town, where he hoped to seize upon the first opportunity, in the spring, to secure a passage to the American continent. The dis-

tance from Yakutsk was between six and seven hundred miles. Lodgings were provided for him by order of the Commandant, with whom he had already dined, and who soon after came to see him. Imagine his dismay, when the Commandant assured him, that the season was already so far advanced, as to render a journey to Okotsk impossible.

"What, alas, shall I do," exclaims he, in his journal, "for I am miserably prepared for this unlooked for delay. By remaining here through the winter, I cannot expect to resume my march until May, which will be eight months. My funds! I have but two long frozen stages more, and I shall be beyond the want or aid of money, until, emerging from the deep deserts, I gain the American Atlantic States; and then, thy glowing climates, Africa, explored, I will lay me down, and claim my little portion of the globe I have viewed; may it not be before. How many of the noble minded have been subsidiary to me, or to my enterprises; yet that meagre demon, Poverty, has travelled with me hand in hand, over half the globe, and witnessed what?—the tale I will not unfold! Ye children of wealth and idleness, what a profitable commerce might be made between us. A little of my toil might better

brace your bodies, give spring to mind, and zest to enjoyment; and a very little of that wealth, which you scatter around you, would put it beyond the power of anything but death to oppose my kindred greetings with all on earth that bear the stamp of man. This is the third time, that I have been overtaken, and arrested, by winter; and both the others, by giving time for my evil genius to rally his hosts about me, have defeated the enterprise. Fortune, thou hast humbled me at last, for I am this moment the slave of cowardly solicitude, lest, in the heart of this dread winter, there lurk the seeds of disappointment to my ardent desire of gaining the opposite continent. But I submit."

These melancholy forebodings were but too literally verified, as the issue will prove. In a letter to Colonel Smith from Yakutsk, he speaks again of this disappointment in the following manner:—

"The Commandant assured me, that he had orders from the Governor-General to render me all possible kindness and service. 'But, Sir,' continued he, 'the first service I am bound to render you is, to beseech you not to attempt to reach Okotsk this winter.' He spoke to me in French. I almost rudely insisted on being permitted to depart immediately, and expressed

surprise that a Yakuti Indian, and a Tartar horse, should be thought incapable of following a man, born and educated in the latitude of forty. He declared, upon his honour, that the journey was impracticable. The contest lasted two or three days, in which interval, being still fixed in my opinion, I was preparing for my journey. The Commandant at length waited on me, and brought with him a trader, a very good, respectable looking man, of about fifty, as a witness to the truth and propriety of his advice to me. This trader, for ten or twelve years, had passed and repassed often from Yakutsk to Okotsk. I was obliged, however severely I might lament the misfortune, to yield to two such advocates for my happiness. The trader held out to me all the horrors of the winter, and the severity of the journey at the best season; and the Commandant, the goodness of his house, and the society here, all of which would be at my service. The *difficulty* of the journey I was aware of; but when I assented to its *impracticability*, it was a compliment; for I do not believe it is so, nor hardly any thing else.

" It is certainly bad in theory to suppose the seasons can triumph over the efforts of an honest man. The proffered hospitality of the Com-

mandant I have no doubt was sincere; because in Russia generally, and particularly in Siberia, it is the fashion to be hospitable. It is probable, also, that it is a natural principle. I should, however, have said less to them about the matter, had I not been without clothes, and with only a guinea and one-fourth in my purse; and in a place where the necessaries of life are dearer than in Europe, and clothing still dearer by the same comparison. And, besides, the people of all descriptions here, as far as they are able, live in all the excess of Asiatic luxury, joined with such European excesses, as have migrated hither. Add to all these, that they are universally and extremely ignorant, and adverse to every species of intellectual enjoyment, and I will declare to you, that I was never before so totally at a loss how to accommodate myself to my situation. The only consolation I have, of the argumentative kind, is to reflect, that he who travels for information must be supposed to want it. By being here eight months, I shall be able to make my observations much more extensive, respecting the country and its inhabitants, than if I had passed directly through it; and this also is a satisfaction."

It being thus determined, against his opinion

and wishes, that he should not proceed, he resolved to reconcile himself to his fate, and to make the best use of his time which circumstances would allow. He had entered the following memorandum in his journal, while coming down the Lena. "Yakutsk is the last place where I shall be able to make any *inquiries*, therefore let them be extensive." He now set himself earnestly to the task of complying with this injunction, and of collecting as much information as possible. The facts and reflections, which he thought worth preserving, are recorded in his diary without method or connection. It was his manner, as we have already seen, to write down only hints, to state facts briefly, and throw out his own remarks upon them in language concise and unstudied. These particulars, as heretofore, must be remembered in reading the free extracts, which will be made from the part of his journal written at Yakutsk.

There is some room for doubt, whether the Commandant was perfectly honest, in advising and persuading Ledyard to desist from his purpose of proceeding immediately to Okotsk. In the first place, it was certainly not an uncommon thing to perform that journey in the winter; and the Commandant's tender concern for the

sufferings of the traveller, who knew what was before him, and was eager to grapple with every hardship in the way, could scarcely be such as to induce him, from this motive alone, to urge his delay for eight months in Yakutsk. His bringing in the trader to strengthen his argument, on the same benevolent grounds, is moreover a suspicious circumstance. Ledyard yielded to their persuasions, against his will and his judgment, and was only surprised that he should meet two men in Siberia, entire strangers to him, who should have his happiness so much at heart.

Again, the original letter of recommendation from Jacobi, the Governor General of Irkutsk, to the Commandant of Yakutsk, has been preserved amongst Ledyard's papers. It is written in the Russian language and character.* After recommending the bearer in general terms, and stating that he wished to pass through to the American continent, with a view of acquiring a knowledge of that country, Jacobi adds, "His object seems to be, that of joining a certain secret naval expedition; I earnestly request you, therefore, to receive Mr. Ledyard most

* A translation of this letter was procured from the Russian Legation, through the politeness of Mr. Poletica, while he was minister from the court of Petersburg to the United States.

kindly, and to assist him every possible way in all his wishes, and to forward him without the least delay to the above-mentioned expedition." The passage in this letter, demanding particular attention, is that in which the Governor-General enjoins it on the Commandant, with marked emphasis, to treat him kindly, and send him forward according to his wishes without delay. Now, if he had given this order seriously, it would not have been done, unless it was intended to be obeyed, and Jacobi knew very well whether the journey was practicable at the season, when the letter would arrive; and if it was in fact a serious and positive order, it is not likely that the Commandant would have hesitated to carry it instantly into effect. My inference is, that there were secret instructions sent at the same time to detain Ledyard in Yakutsk, and that the Commandant, for this purpose, resorted to the artifice of a pretended concern for his health and comfort, that all suspicions of any designed interference might be lulled to sleep. It is remarkable too, that the letter of recommendation was sent open, and was returned to Ledyard after having been read by the Commandant. This manœuvre was artfully contrived to quiet his apppehensions, and cause him to believe, that the Go-

vernor-General had taken a lively interest in his success, and was disposed to render him efficient aid. To this subject I shall have occasion to recur.

Meantime, let us return to the occupations of the traveller, while he was thus unconsciously a prisoner at Yakutsk. He pursued with diligence his inquiries, and lost no opportunity of seeking knowledge wherever he could find it; particularly on those topics, which he was fond of contemplating. In the letter to Colonel Smith, mentioned above, are contained some observations, besides those already quoted, which are in harmony with the writer's usual turn of mind, and mode of expressing his thoughts.

"I cannot say that my voyage on the Lena has furnished me with any thing new, and yet no traveller ever passed by scenes, that more constantly engage the heart and the imagination. I suppose no two philosophers would think alike about them. A painter and a poet would be much more likely to agree. There are some things, however, not unworthy of a philosophical inquiry. The Lena is very indifferent for navigation, from this place towards Irkutsk. In some mountains near the river are large salt mines, which afford a supply to

all the adjacent country. It is pure, solid, transparent, mineral salt, and found in veins. The pieces that I have seen, with the Commandant here, are six and nine inches square. When pulverized for the table, it is much the most delicate salt I ever saw, of a perfect white, and an agreeable taste, but I imagine not so strong, by one-third, as our West India salt. There are also upon the banks of the Lena, and indeed all over this country, great quantities of elephants' bones. The Commandant possesses some of the teeth of that animal, larger than any I saw in the royal museum at Petersburg, and they are as sound as they ever were. The hafts of knives, spoons, and a variety of other things, are here made of them, and they equal any ivory I have seen from Africa. If I can, I will send you a specimen of this fine bone, and of the salt likewise. Indeed, I want to send you many things, but it is an embarrassing circumstance, when one has correspondents in the antipodes. And though no man could show more kindness, or render more service to a traveller, than Dr. Pallas has done to me, yet I am reserved in asking them upon all occasions. Brown and Porter, too; — I wonder their patience is not exhausted. It has been as

thoroughly tried, as yours was while I was at Petersburg.

"The fact is, I am a bankrupt to the world, but I hope it will consider well the occasion of my being such. I believe it will. My English creditors are the most numerous, and I have great consolation on that account, because they think and act with such heavenly propriety. In most parts of the world, and as much in Russia as any where, and in Siberia, most of all, it is the custom not to think at all. In this case it is difficult to liquidate, rationally, a receipt and expenditure of three dinners and a bow. For the same reason, when I left France my accounts were not closed; and, from that day to this, I know not whether I owe France, or France owes me. But here at Yakutsk it will be infinitely worse; and, without any violence to the metaphor, or pedantic affectation, I declare to you, that, to leave Yakutsk with respectability, and reach Okotsk alive, will be to pass a Scylla and Charybdis, which I have never yet encountered. Both you, myself, and my friends, had formed at London very erroneous opinions of the equipment necessary to pass through this country, and particularly as to the manner of travelling. It has been the

source of all my troubles. They have been many, and I have done wrong to feel them so severely. I owe the world some services, which I shall make great efforts to perform. Make my best compliments to my friends, and tell them that I have a heart as big as St. Paul's church in such service as theirs."

The mistake here alluded to, in regard to the mode of travelling, was the plan formed by himself and his friends in London, that he should walk, as being more economical. By experiment, he proved this to have been an ill-advised scheme, for walking not only consumed a great deal more time, but the expenses in the aggregate were higher, than by the usual mode of travelling post through those countries. In a letter from Irkutsk, he says, "It has been to this moment a source of misfortune to me, that I did not begin to ride post from Hamburg. I have footed it at a great expense, besides the loss of my baggage, which I severely feel. Never did I adopt an idea so fatal to my happiness." The reason why he viewed this oversight in so serious an aspect was, that it would inevitably be the cause of keeping him back, a full season, from his passage across the sea to the American continent, and thus in the end a whole year would be lost. Add to this the

innumerable accidents that might intervene to defeat his purpose altogether. Whereas, had he proceeded by the shortest conveyance from Hamburg to the Russian capital, he might with great ease have reached Kamtschatka the same season. The origin of his disasters may chiefly be referred, however, to his fit of romantic benevolence in seeking out Major Langhorn; wasting his precious time in Copenhagen, and sharing with his erratic countryman his scanty means, which, in their whole amount, were scarcely enough to keep himself alone from beggary.

I shall now bring together, in as connected a form as the nature of the particulars will admit, Ledyard's observations on various tribes of Tartars, with whom he became more or less acquainted in Siberia. His researches were desultory, but pursued with inquisitiveness; his statements are often curious, sometimes important; they will afford amusement to the general reader, as well as information to the philosophical inquirer.

"Of all the gradations of men, the savage is the most formal and ceremonious, notwithstanding his wants and occupations are few, and he can with happy indifference endure privation. His heaven is peace and leisure. Ceremonials,

like the uninterrupted tenor of his mind, may be supposed to be transmitted unchanged through many generations. Hence many things, which marked the earliest period of history, and which have left no vestige with civilized man, show themselves at this day among savages. Their luxuries, if such they may be called, are of that kind which nature suggests. Dress, which in hot climates is an inconvenience, does not become so much the object of attention and delight; and here, therefore, the savage is more nice in the indulgence of his appetites. On the contrary, in cold climates, bodily covering being all important, ingenuity is directed to that point. A feeble kind of infant fancy grows out of the efforts of necessity, and displays its little arts in adorning the person with awkward and fantastic decorations. But here the appetites are less lively and distinguishing. With respect to food, the vilest, and that totally unprepared, does not come amiss, and the most delicate is not seized with eagerness. Give a cake to a Swedish Laplander, Finlander, or northern Tartar, and he eats it leisurely; do the same to an Otaheitan, Italian peasant, or Spanish fisherman, and he will put the whole cake into his mouth if he can. The Empress has caused houses to be built in the Russian manner, at

the expense of government, and ordered them to be offered to the Yakuti, upon the single condition of their dwelling in them; but they have universally refused, preferring their apparently more uncomfortable *yourtes* or *wigwams*.

"The Tongusians are a wandering people, living solely by the chase. They rarely stop above two or three days in a place. They have tents or yourtes, made of bark, which they leave on the spot where they have encamped. When they march, they tell their women that they are going to such a mountain, river, lake, or forest, and leave them to bring the baggage. They are extremely active in the chase, and instances have occurred in which they were found dead, having pursued their game down some precipice.

"The Kalmuks, or Buretti, write their language in columns, like the Chinese; the Kazan Tartars from right to left, like the Hebrews.*

* Dr. Clarke mentions having procured at Taganrog, on the sea of Azof, a specimen of writing from the Kalmuk priests. The characters were arranged in columns on scarlet linen, and read from the top to the bottom. After returning to England he was informed, that this writing was Sanscrit. He adds, that the Kalmuks in that part of Asia had two modes of writing, one with the *vulgar* character, so called, and the other with the *sacred*.

The reason why the Buretti have the art of writing is, that they last migrated from the borders of Thibet. There is not another Asiatic tribe in all Siberia, that write their language, or have any remains of writing among them.* The *sound* of the Yakuti language very closely resembles that of the Chinese; and the same, indeed, may be said of the languages of all the Asiatic Tartars. I have already observed, that the Yakuti is supposed to be the oldest language, and that other tribes have some knowledge of it.

"The Kalmuks live mostly by their flocks, which consist of horses, sheep, goats, and cows. In summer they dwell in the plains; in winter, retreat to the mountains, where their flocks feed on buds, twigs of trees, and moss. They have much milk, which serves them for food, and of which they also make a kind of brandy.†

This latter is read from left to right, like the European languages; the former in columns, and would seem to be Sanscrit. *Clarke's Travels*, Vol. I. c. 15.

* It must be observed, that Ledyard everywhere speaks of the Buretti as the same people with the Kalmuks, and both as direct descendants of the Mongul Tartars. What he says of either, therefore, may commonly be applied to the other.

† The manner of extracting this spirituous liquor from milk is largely described by Pallas. The milk is first fermented, in which state it contains a vinous acid. It is then subjected to the

They likewise hunt. When any of their flock are sick, or lame, they kill and eat them.

"I observe there is one continual flow of good-nature and cheerfulness among the Tartars. They never abuse each other by words, but, when provoked, look for revenge, either secret or open. The Tongusians fight duels with their bows, and with knives. They, and the other roving Tartars, have the limits of their hunting grounds ascertained and marked, like the aborigines of North America.

"The Yakuti here take their children out in the evening, and teach them the names of the principal stars, how to direct their march by them, and how to judge of the weather. Astronomy must have been an early science. The Russ and Yakuti appear to live together here in harmony and peace, without any distinction as to national difference, or superiority and inferiority. I know of but one circumstance, (but alas! it is an important one,) in which the Yakuti are not on an equal footing with the

usual process of distillation, and the result is a species of liquor, which has intoxicating qualities, and of which the Kalmuks are very fond. Mare's milk is considered the best for this purpose, and cow's milk the next. The milk of sheep is seldom distilled, as it contains but a small quantity of the spirituous principle. *Voyages du Professeur Pallas*, Tom. II. pp. 168—175.

Russ. They hold no offices, civil or military. The Russians have been here two hundred and fifty years, and the Yakuti Tartars have been under the Russian government ever since, yet have they made no alteration in their dress or manners in general; but the Russians have conformed to the dress of the Yakuti. Very few of them have embraced the Christian religion, and those who have, perform its duties with great indifference. In this respect, also, the Tartar, whether in Asia or America, acts up to that *sui generis* character, which distinguishes him from other branches of the human family. Religion of any kind, professed by any other people, is usually a serious, contemplative, and important concern, and forms at least as remarkable a trait in their character, as any circumstance of fashion or habit; but it forms no part of the character of a Tartar. I have not in my mind the Christian system particularly; its doctrines are indeed mysterious to the greatest minds and best hearts. To a Tartar they must surely be so. The surprise is therefore the less, why they should so feebly affect the Tartar character. But the Mahometan system, which courts the senses, and appeals to the passions, has operated no farther

on the Tartar, than to shave his head. There it stops; it does not enter it, nor his heart.

"The Tartar is a man of nature, not of art. His philosophy is therefore very simple, but sometimes sublime. Let us enumerate some of his virtues. He is a lover of peace. No lawyer here, perplexing natural rights of property. No wanton Helen, displaying fatal charms. No priest with his outrageous zeal has ever disturbed the peace. Never, I believe, did a Tartar speak ill of the Deity, or envy his fellow-creatures. He is contented to be what he is. Hospitable and humane, he is uniformly tranquil and cheerful, laconic in thought, word, and action. This is one great reason, and I think the greatest, why they have been constantly persecuted by nations of a different disposition, and why they have always fled before them, and been content to live any where, if they could only live in peace. Some have attributed this conduct to a love of liberty. True; but their ideas, both of peace and liberty, are different from ours. The Tartar holds in equal estimation his dear *otium*, and his *libertas*. They talk much of liberty in England, for example, but I think it would be less agreeable for a Tartar to live there, than in Russian Siberia, where there is less liberty. The Tar-

tars, indeed, think differently from most people of Europe, and, I believe, of Africa. If the Virginia planters were to give their Negroes more commodious houses to inhabit, instead of their poor huts, and encourage them otherwise to live in them, I believe the African would be of the same mind as the planter, and gladly accept the proposal. The same thing exactly has been offered here to the Yakuti by the crown; they have much stronger inducements to accept the offer than the African; but they have not, and they will not, though no condition accompanies the offer. They will inhabit the yourte.

"The *yourte*, or, as the American Tartars call it pretty generally, *wigwam*, is in this country a substitute for a tent. In milder climates it is made either of skins, or bark of trees, of sedge, or some other kind of grass. It is always of a conical form, not divided into apartments, having an aperture at the top, and the fire made on the ground under it. Around the sides of the yourte, if it is only temporary, are placed the baggage and furniture; if it is not temporary, seats for sitting and sleeping upon are ranged around the sides. The yourtes in the neighbourhood of Russian towns and settlements are made a little differently; they

are sunk two or three feet in the ground, square, and divided into apartments, the frame of wood, the sides plastered with mud, and a flat roof covered with earth. The fire is in the centre, with a slight little chimney. They have two or three little windows; in summer, of talc; in winter, of ice. One apartment of the yourte is for the cow, ox, or horse, if the owner should possess any. These yourtes resemble not a *tent;* but remote from towns all the Tartars have tents either of skins, bark, or grass.

"The people in this country, that are born half Russ and half Tartar, are very different from the Tartars or Russ, and much superior to either of them. The European nations, that intermarry most with other nations, are the handsomest. How far may this cause be supposed to have made the Negro, and the Tartar, so different from the European; or, which is more probable, have made the European so different from the Tartar and Negro? The Commandant showed me recently a man descended from a Yakuti father and Russian mother, and the son of this man. The colour of the first descendant is as fair as the second, and both as fair as the Russian mother and grandmother. After the first descent, intermarriage

has a less perceptible effect on the colour. This change of the colour by intermarriage is generally from the darker to the lighter. The colour of the hair and eyes also inclines to be light, but does not always accompany the change of colour in the skin. Upon the whole, as I have said before, with respect to difference of colour with the Indian and European, they appear to me to be the effect of natural causes. I have given much attention to the subject on this continent. Its vast extent, and the variety of its inhabitants, afford the best field in the world in which to examine it. By the same gentle gradation, by which I passed from the height of civilization at Petersburg to incivilization in Siberia, I also passed from the fair European to the copper coloured Tartar; I say the copper coloured Tartar, but there is the same variety of colour among the Tartars in Siberia, as among the other nations of the earth. The journal of a Russian officer, which I have seen, informs me that the Samoiedes, among whom he lived two years, are fairer than the Yakuti, who are of a light olive, and fairer than the Tongusians, or the Buretti, who are copper coloured. Yet the three last mentioned tribes are all Mongul Tartars. The greater part of mankind, com-

pared with European civilization, are uncivilized, and this part are all darker than the other. There are no white savages, and few barbarous people, that are not brown or black.

"The equally distinguishing characteristic of *feature*, in the Tartar face, invites me into a field of observation, which I am not able at present to give bounds to. I must therefore resign it to those who have leisure and a taste for such inquiries, contenting myself with furnishing a few facts, and describing this strange dissimilarity in the human face, according to the observations I have made. This I should be able to do anatomically, but I am not. The Tartar face, in the first impression it gives, approaches nearer to the African than the European; and this impression is strengthened, on a more deliberate examination of the individual features, and whole compages of the countenance; yet it is very different from an African face. The nose forms a strong feature in the human face. I have seen instances among the Kalmuks, where the nose between the eyes has been much flatter and broader, than I have ever witnessed in Negroes: and some few instances where it has been as broad over the nostrils quite to the end; but the nostrils, in any case, are much smaller than in Negroes. Where I

have seen those noses, they were accompanied with a large mouth and thick lips; and these people were genuine Kalmuk Tartars. The nose protuberates but little from the face, and is shorter than that of the European. The eyes universally are at a great distance from each other, and very small; at each corner of the eye, the skin projects over the ball; the part appears swelled; the eyelids go in nearly a strait line from corner to corner. When open, the eye appears as in a square frame. The mouth, generally, however, is of a middling size, and the lips thin. The next remarkable features are the cheek bones. These, like the eyes, are very remote from each other, high, broad, and withal project a little forward. The face is flat. When I look at a Tartar *en profile*, I can hardly see the nose between the eyes, and if he blow a coal of fire, I cannot see the nose at all. The face is then like an inflated bladder. The forehead is narrow and low. The face has a fresh colour, and on the cheek bones there is commonly a good ruddy hue.

"The faces of Tartars have not a variety of expression. I think the predominating one is pride; but whenever I have viewed them, they have seen a stranger. The intermixture by marriage does not operate so powerfully, in

producing a change of features, as of complexion, in favour of Europeans. I have seen the third in descent, and the Tartar prevailed over the European features. The Tartars from time immemorial (I mean the Asiatic Tartars) have been a people of a wandering disposition. Their converse has been more among beasts of the forest, than among men; and when among men, it has only been those of their own nation. They have ever been savages, averse to civilization, and have never until very lately mingled with other nations, and now rarely. Whatever cause may have originated their peculiarities of features, the reason why they still continue, is their secluded way of life, which has preserved them from mixing with other people. I am ignorant how far a constant society with beasts, may operate in changing the features, but I am persuaded that this circumstance, together with an uncultivated state of mind, if we consider a long and uninterrupted succession of ages, must account in some degree for this remarkable singularity.

"Mr. John Hunter, of London, has made, or is making, some anatomical examinations of the head of a Negro, which is said externally, at least, to resemble that of the monkey. If I

could do it, I would send him the head of a Tartar, who lives by the chase, and is constantly in the society of animals, which have high cheek bones; and perhaps, on examining such a head, he would find an anatomical resemblance to the fox, the wolf, the bear, or the dog. I have thought, that even in Europe mechanical employments, having been continued for a long time among the same people, have had a considerable influence in giving a uniform character to their features. I know of no people, among whom there is such a uniformity of features, (except the Chinese, the Jews, and the Negroes) as among the Asiatic Tartars. They are distinguished, indeed, by different tribes, but this is only nominal. Nature has not acknowledged the distinction, but, on the contrary, marked them, wherever found, with the indisputable stamp of Tartars. Whether in Nova Zembla, Mongolia, Greenland, or on the banks of the Mississippi, they are the same people, forming the most numerous, and, if we must except the Chinese, the most ancient nation of the globe. But I, for myself, do not except the Chinese, because I have no doubt of their being of the same family.

"The Tongusians, the Tchuktchi, the Kuriles, and the Nova Zembleans are tattooed.

The Mohegan tribe of Indians in America practised tattooing. I find as yet nothing analogous to the American calumet, except in the use of it. The Tartars here, when they smoke the pipe, give it round to every one in the company. The form of the pipe is universally the identical form of the Chinese pipe. I expect to find it in America, since the form of the pipe on the tomahock resembles it. This form intimates economy, and that the original custom of smoking the pipe was a mere luxury. It holds but a very little. The manner in which the Tartars and Chinese use it, corroborates that idea. They make but one or two drafts from the pipe, and those they swallow, or discharge through the nose, and then put the pipe by. They say that the smoke thus taken is exhilarating. As the Chinese pipe is found universally among the Siberian Tartars, I think it probable, that the custom of smoking migrated with them to America, and thence, by Sir Walter Raleigh, made its way east to England. If so, the custom has travelled in a singular manner. Why did it not come from the Tartars west to England?

"The Asiatic Tartars never change their dress; it is the same on all occasions; in the field, in the house, on a visit, on a holiday,

They never have but one dress, and that is as fine as they can make it. Those that live with the Russians in their villages are above mediocrity as to riches, but discover the same indifference about accumulating more, and for the concerns of to-morrow, that a North American Indian does. They stroll about the village, and, if they can, get drunk, smoke their pipe, or go to sleep. The gardens of the Russians are cultivated more or less, but theirs lie undisturbed. The house of the Russian is a scene of busy occupation, filled with furniture, provisions, women, children, dirt, and noise; that of the Tartar, is as silent, and as clean, as a mosque. If the season admits, the residents are all abroad, unless, perhaps, an old woman or man. There is very little furniture, and that rolled up and bound in parcels in a corner of the house, and no appearance of provisions. If it happen, that they profess the Russian religion, they treat it with strange indifference, not thinkingly, but because they do not think at all about it.

"I have not as yet taken any vocabularies of the Tartar languages. If I take any, they will be very short ones. Nothing is more apt to deceive than vocabularies, when taken by an entire stranger. Men of scientific curiosity,

make use of them in investigating questions of philosophy, as well as history, and I think often with too much confidence, since nothing is more difficult than to take a vocabulary, that shall answer any good ends for such a purpose. The different sounds of the same letters, and of the same combinations of letters, in the languages of Europe, present an insurmountable obstacle to making a vocabulary, which shall be of general use. The different manner, also, in which persons of the same language would write the words of a new language, would be such, that a stranger might suppose them to be two languages. Most uncultivated languages are very difficult to be *orthographized* in another language. They are generally guttural; but when not so, the ear of a foreigner cannot accommodate itself to the inflection of the speaker's voice, soon enough to catch the true sound. This must be done instantaneously; and even in a language with which we are acquainted, we are not able to do it for several years. I seize, for instance, the accidental moment, when a savage is inclined to give me the names of things. The medium of this conversation is only signs. The savage may wish to give me the word for *head*, and lays his hand on the top of his head. I am not certain whether he means

the head, or *the top of the head*, or perhaps *the hair* of the head. He may wish to say *leg*, and puts his hand to the calf. I cannot tell whether he means *the leg*, or *the calf*, or *flesh*, or *the flesh*. There are other difficulties. The island of Onalaska is on the coast of America opposite to Asia. There are a few Russian traders on it. Being there with Captain Cook, I was walking one day on the shore in company with a native, who spoke the Russian language. I did not understand it. I was writing the names of several things, and pointed to the ship, supposing he would understand that I wanted the name of it. He answered me in a phrase, which in Russ meant, *I know*. I wrote down, *a ship*. I gave him some snuff, which he took, and held out his hand for more, making use of a word, which signified in Russ, *a little*. I wrote, *more*.

"The Asiatic Tartars have different methods of hunting the moose, and such kind of game; but the most prevalent is like that of American Indians, by stratagem. So they catch ducks at the mouth of the river Kolyma; so the Otaheitans catch fish sometimes; and so the uncivilized parts of mankind war against each other.

"I understand, from Captain Billings's Jour-

nal, that the universal method among the Tchuktchi Indians, in the ceremony of marriage, is for the man to purchase the woman, or make presents to her parents. It is also customary for the young man to serve a stipulated time with the parents of the bride. In case of disunion afterwards, which happens without passion, the presents that have been made are returned. If either party dies, the other marries again as soon as convenient; and the sooner the better, they say, because they ought not to lament what can be repaired. I suppose the love, in this case, below that which existed in the bosoms of Eloise and Abelard; and I suppose the philosophy as much above theirs, as the love is below.*

* The following description, from Dr. Clarke's Travels, is applied to the Kalmuks, where he travelled on the borders of Persia, in the country of the Cossacs. "The ceremony of marriage," says he, "among the Kalmuks is performed on horseback. A girl is first mounted, who rides off in full speed. Her lover pursues; if he overtakes her, she becomes his wife, and the marriage is consummated upon the spot. After this she returns with him to his tent. But it sometimes happens, that the woman does not wish to marry the person by whom she is pursued; in this case she will not suffer him to overtake her. We were assured, that no instance occurs of a Kalmuk girl being thus caught, unless she have a partiality for her pursuer. If she dislikes him, she rides, to use the language of English sports-

"All the Asiatic Tartars, like the aborigines of America, entertain the same general notions of theology, namely, that there is one great and good God, and that he is so good that they have no occasion to address him for the bestowment of any favours; and, being good, he will certainly do them no injury. But they suffer many calamities; so they say there is another being, the source of evil; and that he must be very powerful, because the evils inflicted on them are numerous. To this mischievous deity, therefore, they sacrifice. From him they expect no favours, and do not ask any, but deprecate his wrath. Their Shamants, or priests, have, therefore, nothing to do with the good God; their business is solely with the other, whom they make free to parcel out into a great variety of characters, assigning to each evil a presiding subordinate spirit. This affords the Shamant an opportunity of playing his tricks in an extraordinary manner.

"Mr. Pennant observes, that the Scythians scalped their enemies. I have ever thought, since my voyage with Captain Cook, that the

men, *neck or nothing*, until she has completely effected her escape, or until the pursuer's horse becomes exhausted, leaving her at liberty to return, and to be afterwards chased by some more favoured admirer."—Vol. I. c. 15.

same custom, under different forms, exists throughout the islands in the Pacific Ocean. It is worthy of remark, that though the Indians at Owhyhee brought a part of Captain Cook's head, yet they had cut all the hair off, which they did not return to us. I have also frequently observed the islanders to wear great quantities of false human hair. All savage nations are fond of preserving some badge or testimonial of the victory over their enemies, *of this kind.* The ancient Scythians and North American Indians have preferred the scalp, and, among the South Sea Islanders, teeth and hair are in repute; all of them giving preference to some part of the head.

"The *wampum,* so universally in use among the Tartars apparently as an ornament, I cannot but suspect is used as a substitute for letters, in representing their language, by a kind of hieroglyphic record. I intended to make this a subject of attention, and to have drawings taken of the Asiatic and American wampum, with a view of comparing them, but have not been able to do it. I have seen the initials of a Tartar's name worked in the wampum, on the borders of his garment. A people having such great respect for their ancestors,

as the Tartars have, would naturally endeavour to preserve some memorials of them."

Such are the observations of our traveller, on the aboriginal inhabitants of Siberian Asia. In considering the Kalmuks, Buretti, Tongusians, and Yakuti, as descendants of the Monguls, he accords with other writers, but he advances a bold and novel opinion in classifying all these races with the North American Indians, Greenlanders, and the Chinese. It is true, the point seems never to have been established, how far the affinities between different tribes, or nations of men, must be carried, in order to bring them within the same general class. Traditions, ceremonies, bodily form and features, habits, laws, religion and resemblance of languages, must all be taken into the account. Where there is a similarity in many of these particulars, it may be safely inferred, that the people among whom they exist, although inhabiting regions remote from each other, have sprung from a common origin; but it does not follow with equal probability, that where this similarity is least observable, or perhaps unperceived, they are to be set down as radically distinct races of men. So innumerable are the causes of change, in all these respects, that no rule of this sort can be

assumed, as applicable to any individual case whatever. Customs, laws, pursuits, dress, modes of life, vary with the climate and the productions of the soil. People, who live by the chase and by fishing, will have few of the habits of agriculturists. Approaches to civilization will gradually introduce a thousand new customs.

Language has been thought the best criterion by which to judge of the affinity between different races, and doubtless it is. That two nations should speak languages closely resembling each other, is hardly possible, unless they originated from the same stock; yet it can by no means be inferred with as much certainty, that, because there is a wide dissimilarity in their languages, the sources whence they sprung were as widely dissimilar. The same causes, which change the habits of men, under new circumstances will change their language. New words, and new combinations of words, will be required to express ideas not known before. The intermingling of migratory tribes, speaking different languages, must also introduce total confusion, out of which would most likely grow up a dialect, bearing little analogy to either of the primitive tongues. Let such a process be carried on for many

generations, by a succession of intermixtures, and what clue would there be to guide the inquirer through this labyrinth of mutations back to the first fountain? When it is considered, moreover, that all these tongues are unwritten, and without any recognised principles, the perplexity is increased a hundred fold. According to recent discoveries, the Tschukchi, the natives inhabiting the American side of Bering's Strait, the Eskimaux, and the Greenlanders, speak languages which have many marks of affinity. Their common origin is a very natural inference. Owing to a more recent separation, or fewer intermixtures, their language has been preserved with something of its primitive form. Had the same favourable circumstances attended the migrations of other tribes, we might perhaps now trace them to the same source, with as much appearance of probability. We might possibly detect similar resemblances between the Iroquois and the Yakuti, the Mohegans and the Kamtschadales, and even the Polynesians and the Kalmuks. In short, the state of the question is simply this. Where obvious analogies exist, we may affirm a connection between the tribes in which they prevail, at some remote or proximate period; but where they do not exist, we can

say nothing on the subject. In the latter case we have no warrant for deciding one way or the other.

Taken in this view, no well founded objection can be advanced against Ledyard's opinion, although it would not be easy to establish it by a consecutive series of proofs. It was the result of a long observation of general appearances, rather than of a minute and methodical research. It was not with him an idle speculation, indulged for the moment, and then dismissed. After his return from Siberia, he reiterated the same sentiments. In connection with a short account of his travels, he writes to a friend in these emphatic words:

"You will please to accept these two observations, as the result of extensive and assiduous inquiry. They are with me well ascertained facts. The first is, that the difference of colour in the human species (as the observation applies to all but the Negroes, whom I have not visited) originates from natural causes. The second is, that all the Asiatic Indians, called Tartars, and all the Tartars, who formed the later armies of Genghis Khan, together with the Chinese, are the same people, and that the American Tartar is also of the same

family; the most ancient and numerous people on earth, and the most uniformly alike."

In this place may be inserted, also, his remarks to Mr. Jefferson, in a letter written nearly at the same time with the above. After reiterating his opinion, in regard to the causes of the difference of colour in the human race, he continues:

"I am certain, that all the people you call *red* people on the continent of America, and on the continents of Europe and Asia, as far south as the southern parts of China, are all one people, by whatever names distinguished, and that the best general name would be *Tartar*. I suspect that *all* red people are of the same family. I am satisfied, that America was peopled from Asia, and had some, if not all, its animals from thence.

"I am satisfied, that the great general analogy in the customs of men can only be accounted for, by supposing them all to compose one family; and, by extending the idea, and uniting customs, traditions, and history, I am satisfied, that this common origin was such, or nearly, as related by Moses, and commonly believed among the nations of the earth. There is, also, a transposition of things on the globe, that must have been produced by some cause equal to the

effect, which is vast and curious. Whether I repose on arguments drawn from facts observed by myself, or send imagination forth to find a cause, they both declare to me a general deluge."

It will be perceived, that he uses the word *Tartar* in a broader sense than is commonly given to it, embracing not only all the Northern Asiatic races and the Chinese, but likewise the aborigines of North America. Pallas says, that even the Monguls and Kalmuks are not rightly called Tartars, and that these latter people are different from the former in their origin, customs, political establishments, and the lineaments of their features. They inhabit the northern regions of Thibet, and western Siberia, never mingling with the Kalmuks. These facts in no degree affect Ledyard's use of the word. He employs it as a general term, and in a definite manner, without regard to its original meaning.

CHAPTER XI.

Climate in Siberia.—Extreme cold.—Congelation of quicksilver.—Images in Russian houses.—Attention paid to dogs.—Ice windows.—Jealousy of the Russians.—Moral condition of the Russians in Siberia.—Ledyard's celebrated eulogy on women.—Captain Billings meets him at Yakutsk, on his return from the Frozen Ocean.—Bering's discovery of the strait called after his name.—Russian voyages of discovery.—Bering's death.—Russia fur trade.—Billings's expedition.—His incompetency to the undertaking.—His instructions nearly the same as those drawn up by Peter the Great for Bering.—Some of their principal features enumerated.

A FEW other selections on miscellaneous topics will now be made from that part of the journal, which was written at Yakutsk.

"At Kazan there is abundance of snow; at Irkutsk, which is in about the same latitude, very little. Here, at Yakutsk, the atmosphere is constantly charged with snow; it sometimes falls, but very sparingly, and that in the day time; rarely, if ever, at night. The air is much like that which we experienced with Captain Cook *in mare glaciali*, between the latitudes of seventy and seventy-two; seldom a serene sky, or detached clouds; the upper region is a dark, still, expanded vapour, with few openings in it.

The lower atmosphere contains clouds floating over head, resembling fog-banks. In general, the motion of every thing above and below is languid. The summers are said to be dry; the days very hot, nights cold, and the weather exceedingly changeable, subject to high winds generally from the north, and sometimes heavy snows in August. I have seen but one aurora borealis, and that not an extraordinary one.

"The people in Yakutsk have no wells. They have tried them to a very great depth, but they freeze even in summer; consequently they have all their water from the river. But in winter they cannot bring water in its fluid state; it freezes on the way. It is then brought in large cakes of ice to their houses, and piled up in their yards. As water is wanted, they bring these pieces of ice into the warm rooms, where they thaw, and become fit for use. Milk is brought to market in the same way. A Yakuti came into our house to-day with a bag full of ice. 'What,' said I to Laxman, 'has the man brought ice to sell in Siberia?' It was milk. Clean mercury exposed to the air is now constantly frozen. By repeated observations I have found in December, that two ounces of quicksilver openly exposed, have frozen hard in fifteen minutes. It may be cut with a knife,

like lead. Strong cogniac brandy coagulated. A thermometer, filled with rectified spirits of wine, indicated thirty-nine and a half degrees on Reaumur's scale. Captain Billings had, on the borders of the Frozen Ocean, the winter before last, forty-three degrees and three-fourths by the same thermometer. In these severe frosts the air is condensed, like a thick fog. The atmosphere itself is frozen; respiration is fatiguing; all exercise must be as moderate as possible; one's confidence is in his fur dress. It is a happy provision of nature, that in such intense colds there is seldom any wind; when there is, it is dangerous to be abroad. In these seasons, there is no chase; the animals submit themselves to hunger and security, and so does man. All nature groans beneath the rigorous winter.*

* The following is the statement of Captain Cochrane, respecting the degree of cold at the river Kolyma, which he visited in the winter of 1820-21. "The weather proved exceedingly cold in January and February, but never so severe as to prevent our walks, except during those times when the wind was high; it then became insupportable out of doors, and we were obliged to remain at home. Forty degrees of frost of Fahrenheit never appear to affect us in calm weather, so much as ten or fifteen during the time of a breeze. *Forty-three* of Reaumur, or *seventy-seven* of Fahrenheit, have been repeatedly known. I will, also, add my testimony from experiment to the extent of *forty-two*.

"The first settlers here [Russians] came round by the North Sea, about two hundred and fifty years ago. A gentleman showed me to-day a copy of a marriage contract done at Moscow, two hundred and five years ago. It is a folio page, and there are only sixteen words intelligible to an ordinary reader, which correspond to the orthography of the present day. Many instances of longevity occur in this place. There is a man one hundred and ten years old, who is in perfect health, and labours daily. The images in the Russian houses, which I should take for a kind of household gods, are very expensive. The principal ones have a great deal of silver lavished on them. To furnish out a house properly with these *Dii Minores*, would cost a large sum. When burnt out, as I have witnessed several times, the people have appeared more anxious for these, than for any thing else. The images form almost the whole decoration of the churches, and those melted in one of them just burnt down, are estimated to

I have also seen the minute book of a gentleman at Yakutsk, where *forty-seven* of Reaumur were registered, equal to *eighty-four* of Fahrenheit."

By various experiments it has been proved, that mercury congeals at *thirty-two* degrees below zero of Reaumur's scale, and *forty* of Fahrenheit's.

have been worth at least thirty thousand roubles. The warm bath is used by the peasantry here early in life, from which it is common for them to plunge into the river, and if there happens to be new fallen snow, they come naked from the bath and wallow therein. Dances are accompanied, or rather performed, by the same odd twisting and writhing of the hips, as at Otaheite.

" Dogs are here esteemed nearly in the same degree that horses are in England; for besides answering the same purpose in travelling, they aid the people in the chase, and, after toiling for them the whole day, become their safeguard at night. Indeed they command the greatest attention. There are *dog farriers* to attend them in sickness, who are no despicable rivals in art, at least in pretension, to the horse doctor of civilized Europe. Dogs also command a high price. What they call a leading dog of prime character, will sell for three or four hundred roubles.

" Every body in Yakutsk has two kinds of windows, the one for summer, and the other for winter. Those for the latter season are of many different forms and materials; but all are so covered with ice on the inside, that they are not transparent, and are so far useless.

You can see nothing without, not even the body of the sun at noon. Ice is most commonly used for windows in winter, and talc in summer. These afford a gloomy kind of light within, that serves for ordinary purposes.

"The Russ dress in this region is Asiatic; long, loose, and of the mantle kind, covering almost every part of the body. It is a dress not originally calculated for the latitude they inhabit. Within doors the Russian is Asiatic; without, European. The Emperor gives three ranks to officers that come into Siberia, and serve six years; two while out from Petersburg, and one on their return. It has two important effects, one to civilize Siberia, and the other to prostitute rank. I have before my eyes the most consummate scoundrels in the universe, of a rank that in any civilized country would be a signal of the best virtues of the heart and the head, or at least of common honesty and common decency. The succession of these characters is every six years.

"So strong is the propensity of the Russians to jealousy, that they are guilty of the lowest offences on that account. The observation may appear trivial, but an ordinary Russian will be displeased, if one even endeavours to gain the good will of his dog. I affronted the Com-

mandant of this town very highly, by permitting his dog to walk with me one afternoon. He expostulated with me very seriously about it. This is not the only instance. I live with a young Russian officer, with whom I came from Irkutsk. No circumstance has ever interrupted the harmony between us, but his dogs. They have done it twice. A pretty little puppy he has, came to me one day, and jumped upon my knee. I patted his head, and gave him some bread. The man flew at the dog in the utmost rage, and gave him a blow, which broke his leg. The lesson I gave him on the occasion has almost cured him, for I bid him beware how he disturbed my peace a third time by this rascally passion.

"I have observed from Petersburg to this place, that the Russians in general have few moral virtues. The bulk of the people are almost without any. The laws of the country are mostly penal laws; but all laws of this kind are little else than negative instructors. They inform the people what they shall not do, and affix the penalty to the transgression; but they do not inform people what they ought to do, and affix the reward to virtue. Untaught in the sublime of morality, the Russian has not that glorious basis, on which to exalt his nature. This, in some countries, is made the

business of religion; and, in others, of the civil laws. In this unfortunate country, it is the business of neither civil nor ecclesiastical concernment. A citizen here fulfils his duty to the laws, if, like a base Asiatic, he licks the feet of his superior in rank; and his duty to his God, if he fills his house with a set of ill looking brass and silver saints, and worships them. It is for these reasons, that the peasantry in particular, are the most unprincipled in Christendom. I have looked for certain virtues of the heart, that are called natural. I find them not in the most obscure villages of the empire. On the contrary, I find the rankest vices to abound there, as much as in the capital itself."

A few isolated facts will now be added which he collected chiefly from the information of others, but which he deemed worthy of a place in his journal.

"The Tongusians are tattooed. The Samoiedes have the double-headed paddle. They fish with nets, under the ice. The Buretti have the Mahometan lock of hair. The Kuriles are tattooed. A journal of a Russian officer, says they are very hairy. They traffic with the Japanese, in feathers and fish. The islands have little vegetation. The people are reserved in conversation; they are comely; have their materials for boat and house build-

ing from the continent, or from the Japanese. They are very wild, and receive strangers with the most threatening and formal appearance; but afterwards, they are kind and hospitable. The coast of the Frozen Ocean is full of trees and driftwood, for five versts out. It is remarked by the Russians, that since their knowledge of those regions, the land has increased towards the sea, and driven it northwards, a circumstance attributable, perhaps, to the large rivers, that empty themselves there. —Informed that the custom of staining the nails of the fingers, of a scarlet colour, is common near the Caspian and Black seas. I saw one instance of it in the neighbourhood of Kazan. It is likewise a custom among the Cochin Chinese. I saw it at the island of Perlo Condor. The custom of calling John the son of John, Alexander the son of Alexander, prevails among the Russians."

The preceding selections embrace nearly all that is contained in the journal, under the dates of his residence at Yakutsk, except the celebrated eulogy on women, which was likewise written at that place. This beautiful and touching tribute to the superiority of the female character, is the more to be valued, as coming from one, whose sphere of observation and experience had been such as to enable him

to speak with confidence, and whose sincerity cannot be suspected. It is the simple effusion of a grateful heart, recorded in his private journal, not intended for the public eye, and obviously written, like the rest of the manuscript compositions left behind him, without any other design, than to quicken his own recollections, or perhaps amuse his intimate friends in a vacant hour. This eulogy was first printed, shortly after the author's death, in the Transactions of the African Association, in which it was inserted by Mr. Beaufoy, secretary to that body, who then had the Siberian journal in his possession. It has often been reprinted, and universally admired, not more for the sentiments it contains, and the genuine feeling that pervades it, than for its terse and appropriate language. The original has been altered in some of the transcripts. It is here introduced as found in the journal.

"I have observed among all nations, that the women ornament themselves, more than the men; that, wherever found, they are the same kind, civil, obliging, humane, tender beings; that they are ever inclined to be gay and cheerful, timorous and modest. They do not hesitate, like man, to perform a hospitable or generous action; not haughty, nor arrogant,

nor supercilious, but full of courtesy, and fond of society; industrious, economical, ingenuous; more liable in general, to err, than man, but in general, also, more virtuous, and performing more good actions than he. I never addressed myself, in the language of decency and friendship, to a woman, whether civilized or savage, without receiving a decent and friendly answer. With man it has often been otherwise. In wandering over the barren plains of inhospitable Denmark, through honest Sweden, frozen Lapland, rude and churlish Finland, unprincipled Russia, and the wide spread regions of the wandering Tartar, if hungry, dry, cold, wet, or sick, woman has ever been friendly to me, and uniformly so; and to add to this virtue, so worthy of the appellation of benevolence, these actions have been performed in so free and so kind a manner, that, if I was dry, I drank the sweet draught, and, if hungry, ate the coarse morsel, with a double relish."

By these specimens of his journal, we may judge, how the traveller employed himself at Yakutsk, during the weary days of his compulsory residence there. He had not been quite two months in this town, when Captain Billings arrived from his expedition to the river Kolyma, and the frozen ocean. An inti-

mate acquaintance had formerly subsisted between Ledyard and Billings. The latter had been an assistant to the Astronomer Bayly, during the whole of Cook's last voyage. He was now employed under the orders of the Empress of Russia, on a mission for exploring the northeastern regions of her territories, and for prosecuting discoveries in geography and natural science. Billings was much surprised at meeting his old acquaintance in the heart of Siberia, not having heard from him, since their separation at the close of the voyage. Meantime he had entered the Russian service, and by a concurrence of favourable circumstances, not easy to be accounted for, had obtained the command of a very important expedition. Ledyard was, no doubt, glad to meet a person, in this rude quarter of the world, who could speak his own language, and who had some recollections in common with himself; but, in other respects, the companionship was not such as to promote his advantage or his enjoyment. Billings gave no proof, that he was competent to the high trust reposed in him by the Russian government, or that he possessed qualities suited to win the esteem of his associates.

A few remarks, relating to the purposes of

the expedition just alluded to, may very well be introduced in this place, as in some of its parts, it was more or less in unison with the designs of the American traveller. Russian enterprise had by no means been backward, in pushing discoveries to the east and north, even at a comparatively early period. About the middle of the seventeenth century, Deschneff and his companions passed down the Kolyma, sailed along the coast of the Tchuktchi country in the Icy Sea, and thence discovered a route by land from this coast to Anadir. Other adventures were undertaken, and discoveries made at successive periods, by Staduchin, Markoff, Willegin, and Amossoff. But the journeys and voyages of these persons had extended only to the Tchuktchi territory, Anadir, Kamtschatka, the Kurile Islands, and to the neighbouring seas. Neither the Strait, which separates Asia from America, nor any part of the American coast on the northwest, nor the Aleutian Islands, had been visited before the year 1728, when Captain Bering made his voyage of discovery. This voyage was planned by Peter the Great, who wrote out with his own hand, the instructions for the commander. He died before they were put in execution; but the Empress, who succeeded him, carried

the original design into effect. Captain Bering was despatched to Kamtschatka, with orders to construct two vessels there, and to sail in them, for the purpose of examining the coast, towards the east and north, and of ascertaining, if possible, whether Asia and America were separated by the ocean. In the year above-mentioned, he made this voyage, and discovered the strait, to which his name has been given. He kept so close to the Asiatic shore, that he did not see the American coast, but he sailed northward, till, on doubling a cape, he saw an open sea before him, which presented a boundless horizon to the north and west, and convinced him that the two continents nowhere came in contact with each other. The season was far advanced, and he returned to the river of Kamtschatka, where he wintered.

The success of this voyage was such, as to encourage the government to undertake others. A plan was formed for navigating the whole northern coast of Russia, from Archangel to Kamtschatka. Several expeditions were fitted out for this purpose from Archangel, the mouths of the Ob, Yenissey, Lena, and Kolyma, and after incredible sufferings by the officers and men engaged in them, and the loss of a great many lives in those terrific regions of cold and

privation, all further attempts were abandoned. Some new portions of the coast were examined, but much remained unexplored, and has continued so to this day. No passage has been effected entirely round the north coast of Asia, any more than round that of America.

Twelve years after his first discovery, Bering made another voyage, fell in with the Aleutian Islands, explored the American coast for a considerable distance, and discovered and named Mount Saint Elias. In returning to Kamtschatka at the beginning of winter, he was driven in distress upon an island near the Asiatic coast, where he and several of his men died. The island has since borne his name. The remnant of his crew arrived in the spring at Kamtschatka.

From this period the Russians kept up an active fur trade, from Okotsk and Kamtschatka, with the natives of the Aleutian Islands, but voyages of discovery ceased for a long time. A tribute in furs was collected for the Russian government from the natives, by the traders who went among them, and authentic accounts are related of barbarities practised by the latter against the former, in their exactions of labour in procuring furs, equalling in cruelty the servitude of the *mitas*, inflicted by the Spaniards

in South America on the Indians, whom they compelled to work in the mines. The party of traders, whom Ledyard visited at Onalaska, however, cannot be brought under this imputation in its full extent, for he describes them as kind to the natives, whom he saw with them. It is to be considered, nevertheless, that the cruelties were principally suffered by those, who were sent abroad to hunt and trap, and made to endure cold and hunger, and all the severities of the climate. These sufferers would not come under the traveller's observation, in the short time that he remained with the traders at Onalaska.

Such was the state of the Russian fur trade on the American coast, from the date of Bering's last discoveries, till that of Cook's voyage to the northern polar seas, a period of about forty years. During that space the government appears to have paid no attention to the subject, except to take care that its agents at Okotsk and Kamtschatka gathered tribute from the islands. But when Cook's last voyage began to make a noise in Europe, and his discoveries on the Northwest Coast of America and in the adjoining seas to be known, the sagacious Catherine was quick to perceive, that her interests were involved in the affair,

and that it was time for her to look to these remote and hitherto neglected parts of her dominions. In short, an expedition was planned on a large and liberal scale, and it was resolved, that, in preparing for it, nothing should be spared, which was necessary to combine in it all possible facilities for prosecuting discoveries, both by land and by sea.

Professor Pallas, who was a favourite with the Empress, and who had travelled in Siberia under her patronage, was particularly instrumental in suggesting and maturing this plan. The choice of a commander was an important consideration, and this was at last effected wholly through the interest of the Professor. Mr. Billings, who had recently obtained a lieutenancy in the Russian service, had found means to insinuate himself into the favour of Pallas, and to impress him with a high opinion of his understanding and knowledge; in which he discovered, however, after it was too late, that he was unfortunately mistaken. The circumstance of this lieutenant having been with Cook, in the regions that were to be explored, filling a station which gave him some pretensions to a science, was thought to be a strong recommendation; and so it would have been, if in more important respects he had possessed

the qualities of a commander, and a man of enterprise. In these he was singularly deficient, as was fully demonstrated in the sequel of the expedition. He was appointed to the command, and left Petersburg for Siberia in October, 1785, about eighteen months before Ledyard arrived in the Russian capital.

The instructions to Billings were so well drawn up, that they deserve a passing notice. They were prepared on the basis of those which had been written by Peter the Great for Captain Bering. Every provision was made for the advancement of science and geographical knowledge, as well as for the extending of the Russian government in remote and unknown parts. The great specific objects were, to determine the latitude and longitude of the mouth of the river Kolyma, and the line of coast from that point to the East Cape in Bering's Strait; the construction of an exact chart of the Eastern Ocean, and the islands between Asia and America; and the attainment of all such knowledge of those regions as might serve to illustrate the reign of her Imperial Majesty, by improving the condition and promoting the happiness of the natives inhabiting those distant lands, and by collecting and diffusing new truths of science, for the general benefit of mankind.

The instructions for scientific researches were minute, perspicuous, and explicit. Professor Pallas was much consulted in preparing them. And, indeed, the separate articles for the naturalist, drawn up with admirable precision and method, were entirely from his pen, and issued with his signature. Observations in geography and meteorology, exact delineations of charts and notes of electrical phenomena, variations of the needle, and of barometrical and thermometrical changes, were expressly required. The various departments of the animal, vegetable, and mineral kingdoms, were also particularized, and the utmost care enjoined in collecting specimens, and forwarding them to Petersburg. Drawings were to be made of curious and extraordinary objects. The manners, disposition, and occupations of the natives were to be described, and also their modes of living, government, religions, their dresses, arms, and manufactures. Moreover, vocabularies of their languages were ordered to be made, according to a model previously furnished. The commander, the naturalist, and all the principal officers, were directed to keep journals for the future inspection of the Admiralty.

Another feature in these instructions deserves to be mentioned. In case any savage tribes

should be discovered, who had not been acquainted with civilized people, it was positively ordered, that they should be treated with kindness, and that the best means should be used to conciliate their good opinion. They were never to be approached in a hostile way, unless such a step should appear absolutely necessary for self defence. On this point the instructions are as full and definite as on others, and breathe a spirit of humanity, which, if it had been uniformly felt and acted upon by discoverers, would have prevented innumerable scenes of bloodshed and misery, which have marked the early intercourse between civilized and savage men.

Captain Billings was allowed to select his own officers and privates, and, as an encouragement to all the persons engaged, much higher pay was granted than was usual in the regular service, with the promise of additional rewards. The officers were to be promoted as the enterprise advanced, and particularly at its conclusion. The Governor General of Irkutsk was ordered to render all needful assistance, and unite his best efforts with those of the commander to execute the designs of the Empress. No expedition was ever more liberally provided, and none ever commenced under better auspices.

When Ledyard met Billings at Yakutsk, he had been more than two years absent from Petersburg, and had spent the preceding season at the mouth of the river Kolyma, attempting to pass along the coast in boats constructed for the purpose. The ice threatened him, and he accomplished nothing, though his lieutenant was extremely desirous to push forward, at a time when, to all but the commander, there seemed a prospect of success. He had now returned, with the intention of going to Irkutsk, and there superintending the transportation of various articles to Okotsk, where they were wanted for preparing the vessels, in which he expected to make a voyage to the American coast in the following summer. This was the opportunity which Ledyard hoped to embrace for securing his passage from one continent to the other.

CHAPTER XII.

Ledyard departs from Yakutsk, and returns to Irkutsk up the Lena on the ice.—Is seized by order of the Empress and hurried off in the charge of two guards.—Returns through Siberia to Kazan.—His remarks on the peculiarity of his fate.—Further observations on the Tartars.—No good account of them has ever been written.—Passes Moscow and arrives in Poland.—Left by his guards, with an injunction never to appear again in Russia.—Health much impaired by his sufferings.—Proceeds to Konigsberg, and thence to London.—Inquiry into the motives of the Empress for her cruel treatment of him.—Her pretences of humanity not to be credited.—Her declaration to Count Segur on the subject.—Dr. Clarke's explanation incorrect.—The true cause was the jealousy of the Russian American Fur Company, by whose influence his recal was procured from the Empress.—Lafayette's remark on her conduct in this particular.

THAT we may not anticipate events, we will again take up our traveller at Yakutsk, where we left him with Captain Billings, then just returned from the Kolyma, near the end of November. Here they lived together about five weeks. Meantime Billings was making preparation for his journey to Irkutsk, and invited Ledyard to accompany him thither. This invitation he readily accepted, since it was impossible for him to proceed to Okotsk before spring; nor indeed would any object be gained by such a journey, till Captain Billings himself

should return to that place, and his vessels be got in readiness, for no chance of a passage was likely to offer at an earlier date. Accordingly he joined Captain Billings's party, which left Yakutsk on the twenty-ninth of December, and travelled in sledges up the river Lena on the ice. With such speed did they move forward by this mode of conveyance, that they reached Irkutsk in seventeen days, having passed over a distance of fifteen hundred miles. Ledyard's voyage down the river in a canoe had taken up twenty-two days.

Nothing is found recorded in his journal, during this second visit to Irkutsk. In Sauer's account of Billings' expedition, the fate which overtook him there is made known to us, and the manner in which he submitted to it.

"In the evening of the twenty-fourth of February," says Sauer, "while I was playing at cards with the brigadier and some company of his, a secretary belonging to one of the courts of justice came in, and told us, with great concern, that the Governor General had received positive orders from the Empress, immediately to send one of the expedition, an Englishman, under guard to the private Inquisition at Moscow, but that he did not know the name of the person, and that Captain Billings was with

a private party at the Governor General's. Now, as Ledyard and I were the only Englishmen here, I could not help smiling at the news, when two hussars came into the room, and told me, that the Commandant wished to speak to me immediately. The consternation into which the visitors were thrown is not to be described. I assured them, that it must be a mistake, and went with the guards to the Commandant.

"There I found Mr. Ledyard under arrest. He told me, that he had sent to Captain Billings, but he would not come to him. He then began to explain his situation, and said he was taken up as a French spy, whereas Captain Billings could prove the contrary, but he supposed that he knew nothing of the matter, and requested that I would inform him. I did so, but the Captain assured me, that it was an absolute order from the Empress, and that he could not help him. He, however, sent him a few roubles, and gave him a pelisse; and I procured him his linen quite wet from the washtub. Ledyard took a friendly leave of me, desired his remembrance to his friends, and with astonishing composure leaped into the kibitka, and drove off, with two guards, one on each side. I wished to travel with him a little way, but was not permitted. I therefore re-

turned to my company, and explained the matter to them; but though this eased their minds with regard to my fate, it did not restore their harmony."*

One word more only need be added respecting Billings. He went to Okotsk in the summer, made a voyage to the Aleutian Islands, and thence to Bering's Strait. From the bay of St. Lawrence he passed across the Tchuktchi country to the river Kolyma by land, whence he proceeded to Yakutsk, and at length returned to Petersburg, after an absence of seven or eight years. No evidence exists, that his labours were of any service to Russia or to the world, either in the field of discovery, or the departments of science. Sauer's book has made his incompetency notorious. The misfortune was, that this should have been found out so late. Captain Burney, who was well acquainted with Billings while on Cook's voyage, observes, in alluding to Ledyard's arrest, "If the Empress had understood the characters of the two men, the commander of the expedition would probably have been ordered to Moscow, and Ledyard, instead of

* See Sauer's Account of a Geographical and Astronomical Expedition to the Northern Parts of Russia, &c. p. 100.

being denied entertainment in her service, have been appointed to supply his place."*

Being now a prisoner, Ledyard was under the entire control of his two guards, who conducted him, with all the speed with which horses and sledges could convey them, towards Moscow, exposed to the extreme rigours of a Siberian winter. In such a situation, it cannot be presumed, that he would have either the heart or leisure to write in his journal. A few particulars only are recorded, and to these a place will now be given. Dates are rarely noted. The following was apparently written soon after he left Irkutsk. "My ardent hopes are once more blasted,—the almost half accomplished wish. What secret machinations have been at work? What motive? But so it suits her royal Majesty of all the Russias, and she has nothing but her pleasure to consult; she has no nation's resentment to apprehend, for I am the minister of no state, no monarch. I travel under the common flag of humanity, commissioned by myself to serve the world at large; and so the poor, the unprotected wanderer must go where sovereign will ordains; if to death, why then my journeying will be over sooner, and

* Burney's Chronological History of the Northeastern Voyages of Discovery, p. 279.

rather differently from what I contemplated; if otherwise, why then the royal dame has taken me much out of my way. But I may pursue another route. The rest of the world lies uninterdicted. Though born in the freest of the civilized countries, yet, in the present state of privation, I have a more exquisite sense of the amiable, the immortal nature of liberty, than I ever had before. It would be excellently qualifying, if every man, who is called to preside over the liberties of a people, should once—it would be enough—actually be deprived of his liberty unjustly. He would be avaricious of it, more than of any other earthly possession. I could love a country and its inhabitants, if it were a country of freedom. There are two kinds of people I could anathematize, with a better weapon than St. Peter's; those who dare deprive others of their liberty, and those who suffer others to do it."

Again he writes, some days after the above, having escaped from Siberia:

"I am now at Kazan; it is nine months since I left this place on my tour eastward, and I am nine times more fully satisfied, than I was before, of some circumstances mentioned in my diary in June last. As I was fond of the subjects I have been in pursuit of, I was appre-

hensive that I might have been rash and premature in some of my opinions, but I certainly have not been. I am now fully convinced, that the difference of colour in man is solely the effect of natural causes, and that a mixture by intermarriage and habits would in time make the species in this respect uniform. I have never extended my opinion, and do not now, to the Negroes; but should I live to visit them, I shall expect to find the same data, leading to the same conclusion, namely, that they are like the other two classes of man, which I call by the general terms of *white people* and *Indians*. There are many reasons, that rise naturally from the observations on my present voyage, which induce me to think so, yet I still wish to have better. I expect, however, the result will be, that I shall find the same causes existing in Africa to render the Negro blacker than the Indian, as in Asia to render the Indian darker than the European.

"With respect to the national or genealogical connection, which the remarkable affinity of person and manners bespeaks between the Indians on this, and on the American continent, I declare my opinion to be, without the least scruple, and with the most absolute conviction, that the Indians on the one and on the other are

the same people. As to the origin and history of the great *Tartar Nation*, little has been essayed; very little is known even of the extent of their country. Albugassi, himself a noble Tartar, has said much the most and best of their origin, and something of their extent; but very unsatisfactorily as to this latter, for in truth he knew but little about it. Like a soldier, he has written a kind of muster roll of his countrymen. I do not remember any thing like philosophical research in his history, though I read him with avidity. Among the voyagers in this country, even the most modern, I have, instead of more, still less information. A few vocabularies to lead astray those who would wish to find real knowledge, and an account of a few customs, without any remarks on them, constitute nearly the amount of the whole. There is, indeed, very little of value said about this great people by any writers. The late contest about the contiguity, or junction, of Asia and America, has accidentally struck out a few observations, and one now and then finds something philosophically said of them, but very unphilosophically placed among quadrupeds, fish, fowls, plants, minerals, and fossils. When the history of Asia, and I add of America, because there is an intimate connection between

them, shall be as well known as that of Europe, it will be found, that those who have written the history of man, have begun at the wrong end."

What passed at the private Inquisition of Moscow, when Ledyard and his guards arrived in that city, there is no record to explain. Since nothing is said of the matter, it is probable, that, if he was taken at all before that body, no specific charges were substantiated, or even preferred, as in truth none could exist. The idea of a French spy in Siberia was an absurdity too gross, to be formally urged as a reason for his arrest, although this had been given out at Irkutsk. What was there in Siberia, either for a Frenchman or a native of any other country to spy? Was the Empress afraid, that the French were plotting a crusade into those frozen and sterile regions, to rescue her miserable exiles, who were suffering there the penalties of their crimes, or the effects of imperial indignation for their projects of ambition and aggrandizement in Petersburg? It was not likely that France, or any other nation, would covet the controul of such subjects, or of such a land. This pretence of a French spy originated at Irkutsk, where it was convenient that some false report should be circulated respect-

ing the cause of his arrest, as will shortly be made manifest. Ledyard again writes,

"I am now two hundred and twenty versts from Moscow, on the road to Poland. Thank Heaven, petticoats appear, and the glimmerings of other features. Women are the sure harbingers of an alteration in manners, in approaching a country where their influence is felt. But wampum, or, if you will, beads, tassels, rings, fringes, and eastern gewgaws, prevail as much here as in Siberia.

"I am at the city of Neeshna, in a vile, dark, dirty, gloomy, damp room; it is called quarters, but it is a miserable prison. The soldiers, who guard me, are doubly watchful over me when in a town, though at no time properly so, through their consummate indolence and ignorance. Every day I have it in my power to escape them, but, though treated like a felon, I will not appear like one by flight. I was very ill yesterday; I am emaciated; it is more than twenty days since I have eat any thing that may be called food, and during that time have been dragged along from day to day in some wretched open kibitka. Thus am I treated in all respects (except that I am obliged to support myself with my own money) like a convict, and presented by my snuff-box of a

sergeant as a raree-show, at every town through which we pass. Were I charged, or chargeable, with any injury done or thought of, either to this, or any other country, it might not make me contented, indeed, yet, I suppose, it would make me resigned. But to be arrested in my travels at the last stage but one, in those dominions where the severe laws of the climate unhappily detained me, which, however, I should have braved, had it not been for the restraining courtesy of the Commandant at Yakutsk; to be seized, imprisoned, and transported in this dark and silent manner, without cause, or accusation, except what appears in the mysterious wisdom depicted in the face of my sergeant, and of course without even a guess as to my destination; treated, in short, like a subject of—this country;—under such circumstances, resignation would be a crime against my dear native land."

Here the Siberian journal abruptly comes to a close, and little is known of what befel him on his way to England, from the frontiers of Poland. In a letter to a friend, written after his arrival in London, he touches again upon the subject, and adds a few particulars, which may with propriety be inserted in the present connection.

"I had penetrated," he says, "through Europe and Asia, almost to the Pacific Ocean, but, in the midst of my career, was arrested a prisoner to the Empress of Russia, by an express sent after me for that purpose. I passed under a guard part of last winter and spring; was banished the empire, and conveyed to the frontiers of Poland, six thousand versts from the place where I was arrested, and this journey was performed in six weeks. Cruelties and hardships are tales I leave untold. I was disappointed in the pursuit of an object, on which my future fortune entirely depended. I know not how I passed through the kingdoms of Poland and Prussia, or from thence to London, where I arrived in the beginning of May, disappointed, ragged, pennyless; and yet so accustomed am I to such things, that I declare my heart was whole. My health for the first time had suffered from my confinement, and the amazing rapidity with which I had been carried through the illimitable wilds of Tartary and Russia. But my liberty regained, and a few days' rest among the beautiful daughters of Israel in Poland, re-established it, and I am now in as full bloom and vigour, as thirty-seven years will afford any man. Jarvis says I look much older, than when he saw me three sum-

mers ago at Paris, which I can readily believe. An American face does not wear well, like an American heart."

When the soldiers, who were his guards, had arrived with him in Poland, they gave him to understand that he might go where he pleased, but if he returned again to the dominions of the Empress, he would certainly be hanged. Having no longer any motive for making such an experiment, he took the shortest route to Konigsberg. Here he was in a destitute situation, without friends or means, his hopes blasted, and his health enfeebled. In this state of despondency and suffering, he bethought himself again of the benevolence of Sir Joseph Banks, which had on more occasions than one administered relief to him, and served as a balm to his wounded spirit. He was lucky enough to dispose of a draft for five guineas on his old benefactor, and by this expedient was enabled to pursue his journey to London, where he arrived after an absence of one year and five months, and where he was received with much cordiality by Sir Joseph Banks and his other friends.

It remains to inquire a little further into the reasons which induced the Empress to recall him by a mandate so positive, after she had

given him a royal passport for proceeding unmolested to Kamtschatka. Various conjectures, as to her motives, have existed; but the tale of the French spy has been the one most generally received, probably because it was credited by Sauer, who was on the spot at the time he was seized. On that topic enough has been said.

The avowed pretence of the Empress has been ascertained, from the authority of Count Segur, who was then, as heretofore, ambassador from France to the court of Petersburg, and was instrumental in procuring Ledyard's passport. In August, 1823, he wrote the following note to Lafayette, in reply to an inquiry on the subject.

"I have no longer any letters in my possession," says Count Segur, "relative to the celebrated traveller, Mr. Ledyard. I remember only, that, in compliance with your request, I furnished him with the best recommendations at the court of Russia. He was at first very well received; but the Empress, who spoke to me on the subject herself, observed, that she would not render herself guilty of the death of this courageous American, by furthering a journey so fraught with danger, as that he proposed to undertake alone, across the unknown and savage regions of North-western America.

She consequently issued her prohibition. Possibly this pretext of humanity, advanced by Catherine, only disguised her unwillingness to have the new possessions of Russia, on the western coast of America, seen by an enlightened citizen of the United States. The above, however, were the reasons she advanced to me."

Few will doubt, probably, that the closing conjecture of Count Segur is much more plausible than the alleged humanity of the Empress. It is clothing this virtue in the royal breast with an air a little too romantic, to suppose that she was prompted by such a motive to send an express four thousand miles, with an order to arrest and preserve from his own temerity and self-devotedness an individual in whose personal safety she could not possibly feel any other interest than what the sovereign of all the Russias would naturally extend to the whole human family. And, moreover, this plea of humanity sounds strangely enough, when contrasted with the barbarous manner in which Ledyard was transported across the frightful deserts of her Imperial Majesty's domains. Such evidences of tender-heartedness he would very gladly have dispensed with, and taken in exchange for them any treatment he might

receive from the savages of North-western America. This pretence of humanity, therefore, has no better foundation than the story of the French spy.

Another explanation is afforded in Dr. Clarke's Travels in Russia, who had the account from Professor Pallas himself. After relating an anecdote, respecting the manner in which Billings obtained his appointment, Dr. Clarke adds:

"That the expedition might have been confided to better hands, the public have been since informed by the secretary Sauer. This, Professor Pallas lamented to have discovered when it was too late. But the loss sustained by any incapacity in the persons employed to conduct that expedition, is not equal to that which the public suffered by the sudden recal of the unfortunate Ledyard. This, it is said, would never have happened, but through the jealousy of his own countrymen, whom he chanced to encounter as he was upon the point of quitting the eastern continent for America, and who caused the information to be sent to Petersburg, which occasioned the order for his arrest."*

* Clarke's Travels in Russia, Chap. ii.

This account of the affair labours under one serious difficulty, which is, that Ledyard did not meet a single countryman of his own in Siberia. It could only be by a vague rumour, originally intended to deceive, that Professor Pallas was led into such a mistake. As Billings and Sauer were Englishmen, and spoke the same language as Ledyard, these persons may have been alluded to; yet no proof exists of their hostility to him, or that they could have any reasons for thwarting his designs.

Since all these explanations of the matter are fallacious, we must look for other causes, and these, in my opinion, have been partly anticipated in the remarks already made on the conduct of the Commandant at Yakutsk. From all the circumstances which have come to my knowledge in the course of this investigation, I am convinced that a plan was concerted at Irkutsk to send him back, very soon after his arrival in that place. Irkutsk was the residence of the Governor General of all the eastern parts of Siberia, and of the principal persons engaged in the fur trade at the Aleutian Islands. Two years before this period, the Russian American Company had been formed, for the express purpose of establishing a regular commercial intercourse with the natives of the islands, and

of the American coast. Operations were already commenced by occupying new posts, erecting factories, building fortifications to protect them, and making other needful provisions to secure a complete monopoly of the trade.

Now the head-quarters of this company were at Irkutsk, and it could not have escaped the sagacity of its conductors, that a foreigner, visiting their stations at the islands, would make discoveries which might be published to their disadvantage, both in regard to the resources of traffic, and to the cruel manner in which the traders habitually treated the natives, in extorting from them the fruits of their severe and incessant labours. To obviate such a consequence, it was necessary to cut short the traveller's career, before he had penetrated to the eastern shores of Asia. In effecting this point, some management was necessary, as he had a passport from the Empress, with a positive order to the Governor General to aid him on his way. This order could not be countermanded, nor the passport of the Empress treated with disrespect, till intelligence could be sent to Petersburg, and the influence there used with the Empress to procure the annulment of her grant of protection, and Ledyard's immediate recal. Time was requisite to bring this scheme

to an issue, and the first thing to be done in the train of manœuvres, was, to throw obstacles in his path, and retard his progress. This was begun in good earnest at Irkutsk, where he was detained several days longer than he desired, waiting, as he was told, for the post.

The manner in which he was received by the Commandant of Yakutsk has already been stated. The extraordinary concern, which the Commandant professed to feel for his welfare, the arguments he used to dissuade him from going to Okotsk at that inclement season, and his returning Jacobi's letter open, are all reasons for strong suspicions. And these reasons are confirmed, when it is known, that the journey to Okotsk was frequently undertaken in the winter. More than a month after Ledyard arrived in Yakutsk, Captain Billings returned from the Colyma, which was at least quite as difficult a journey; and the next year, Billings passed from Okotsk to Yakutsk in October and November, precisely the same months in which Ledyard wished to perform the tour. These facts are enough to prove, that the Commandant's pretended concern for his health and comfort was only a cloak to cover other designs, and to render it more than probable, that he had secret instructions to cause his delay. This

point was gained, and the plot farther matured by inducing him to go back to Irkutsk with Billings.

Six months elapsed between the date of his first leaving Irkutsk, on his voyage from Lena, and that of his arrest. This afforded ample time to send to Petersburg, and receive returns, even through the common channel of the post, or mail, which then passed with tolerable regularity and expedition from the Russian capital to Irkutsk. Thus were all our traveller's hopes blasted, and all his noble designs for making new discoveries and benefiting mankind frustrated, by the jealousy and pitiful intrigues of a few fur dealers at Irkutsk. The Empress was duped by their representations, and she deserted on this occasion, the judicious policy by which she was usually guided, in whatever pertained to the advancement of science, or the encouragement of enterprise. Well might Lafayette say, as he did, that "her conduct in this instance was very illiberal and narrow minded, and that her measures were particularly ungenerous." The conclusion to which I have thus been led, in explaining an apparent enigma in Ledyard's Siberian adventures, is mainly founded, it is true, on circumstantial evidence; but this evidence is so strong, that I know not how it can be resisted.

CHAPTER XIII.

Interview with Sir Joseph Banks in London.—Engages to travel in Africa under the auspices of the African Association.—Remarkable instance of decision of character.—Letter to Dr. Ledyard, containing miscellaneous particulars respecting his travels and circumstances.—Description of his Siberian dresses.—Origin and purposes of the African Association.—Ancient and present state of Africa.—Benefits of discoveries on that continent.—Letter from Ledyard to his mother.—His remarks to Mr. Beaufoy on his departure for Egypt.—Visits Mr. Jefferson and Lafayette in Paris.—Sails from Marseilles to Alexandria in Egypt.—Description of Alexandria, in a letter to Mr. Jefferson.—Arrives in Cairo.—Description of the city, and of his passage up the Nile.

No sooner was he arrived in London, than he called on his worthy patron and friend, Sir Joseph Banks, to express his gratitude for the many substantial favours received from him. Sir Joseph, after questioning him with a lively interest concerning his travels, and expressing sympathy for his past misfortunes, inquired what were his future intentions. Ledyard frankly confessed, that he had nothing in prospect; that after having struggled against a tide of difficulties to accomplish an object, which he had much at heart, but in pursuing which he had been baffled in every attempt, he felt himself at this moment in a state of perfect uncertainty, as to the step next to be taken; time

and circumstances would decide his fortune. What followed will be best related in the language of Mr. Beaufoy, then secretary of the African Association.

"Sir Joseph Banks, who knew his temper, told him, that he believed he could recommend him to an adventure almost as perilous as the one from which he had returned; and then communicated to him the wishes of the Association for discovering the inland countries of Africa. Ledyard replied, that he had always determined to traverse the Continent of Africa, as soon as he had explored the interior of North America; and as Sir Joseph had offered him a letter of introduction, he came directly to the writer of these Memoirs. Before I had learnt from the note the name and business of my visitor, I was struck with the manliness of his person, the breadth of his chest, the openness of his countenance, and the inquietude of his eye. I spread the map of Africa before him, and tracing a line from Cairo to Sennar, and from thence westward in the latitude and supposed direction of the Niger, I told him, that was the route, by which I was anxious that Africa might, if possible, be explored. He said, he should think himself singularly fortunate to be trusted with the adventure. I asked him when he

would set out. 'To-morrow morning,' was his answer. I told him I was afraid that we should not be able, in so short a time, to prepare his instructions, and to procure for him the letters that were requisite; but that if the Committe should approve of his proposal, all expedition should be used."*

This interview affords one of the most extraordinary instances of decision of character, which is to be found on record. When we consider his recent bitter experience of the past, his labours and sufferings, which had been so intense and so long continued, that a painful reality had more than checked the excesses of romantic enthusiasm, that might be kindled in a less disciplined imagination; and when we witness the promptitude with which he is ready to encounter new perils in the heart of Africa, where hardships of the severest kind must inevitably be endured, and where death would stare him in the face at every stage; we cannot but admire the superiority of mind over the accidents of human life, the rapidity of combination, quickness of decision, and fearlessness of consequences, which Ledyard's reply indicates. It was the spontaneous triumph of an elevated

* Proceedings of the African Association, vol. i. p. 18.

spirit over the whole catalogue of selfish considerations, wavering motives, and half-subdued doubts, which would have contended for days in the breast of most men, before they would have adopted a firm resolution to jeopard their lives, in an undertaking so manifestly beset with dangers, and which in its best aspect threatened to be a scene of toils, privations, and endurance. It is needless to say, that the committee of the Association immediately closed an agreement with a man, who presented himself with such a temper, and with numerous other qualities, which fitted him in a peculiar manner for their service. Preparations for his departure were commenced without delay.

While these movements were going on, he wrote a long letter to Dr. Ledyard. It was composed at different times, and is without date. A few extracts from it will give an insight into his pursuits, and exhibit some traits of his character in a favourable light.

"I was last evening in company with Mr. Jarvis of New York, whom I accidentally met in the city, and invited to my lodgings. When I was in Paris in distress, he behaved very generously to me, and, as I do not want money at present, I had a double satisfaction in our meeting, being equally happy to see him, and

to pay him one hundred livres, which I never expected to be able to do, and I suppose he did not think I should. If he goes to New York as soon as he mentioned, I shall trouble him with this letter to you, and with some others to your address for my other friends. I wrote you last from this place, nearly two years ago, but I suppose you heard from me at Petersburg, by Mr. Franklin, of New York. I promised to write you from the remote parts of Siberia. I promise every thing to those I love, and so does fortune to me sometimes, but we reciprocally prevent each other from fulfilling our engagements. She left me so poor in Siberia, that I could not write you, because I could not frank the letter. You are already acquainted with the intent of the voyage, which I have been two years engaged in. The history of it I cannot give you, nor indeed the world. Parts of it you would comprehend, approve, and, I believe, admire; parts are incomprehensible, because not to be described. I have seen and suffered a great deal, but I now have my health and spirits in perfection.

"By my acquaintances in London, my arrival was announced to a society of noblemen and gentlemen, who had for some time been fruitlessly inquiring for some person to travel

through the continent of Africa. I was asked, and consented to undertake the tour. The society have appropriated a sum of money to defray the expenses. I dine with them collectively this day week, finish the affair, and within the month shall be on the move. My route will be from here to Paris, thence to Marseilles, across the Mediterranean to Alexandria in Egypt, and then to Grand Cairo. Beyond is unknown, and my discoveries begin. Where they will terminate, and how, you shall know, if I survive. As we have now no minister from the United States in London, and as I know of no certain medium of conveyance, I cannot certainly promise you letters from Africa, I can only say, that I will write you from Grand Cairo, if I can find an opportunity.

"Before I leave town, I intend to send you some Tartar curiosities, and, if possible, also, a transcript of the few rude remarks I made on my last tour. The hints I have given respecting the history of man, from circumstances and facts that have come within my personal knowledge, you will find new and interesting. They form data for investigation, but they are better in my hands than in any other's, because no other person has seen so much of Asia and

America. They might amuse you in the happy retirement, which Mr. Jarvis tells me you enjoy on Long Island. My seeing this gentleman has been almost as good as a visit to New York. Nothing in his account of our family and friends has affected me so much, as the mercantile misfortunes of your worthy brother. Surely the race is not to the swift, nor the battle to the strong. Did the pyramids of Egypt, which I shall soon see, cover hearts as worthy as his, I should no more style them monuments of human imbecility; I should worship before them. Mr. Jarvis has not been able to give me an exact account of his situation. He only tells me, that he has failed in business, and retired to Jersey, where I think he ought to stay, for the world is absolutely unworthy of him. I do not say this because he is my cousin, and shared with you the earliest attachment of my heart. These are things that I feel, and that the world has nothing to do with, any more than it ought to have with him. They are compliments which his enemies would make him, if he had any. I never knew so much merit so unfortunate. I cannot reflect on his fate unimpassioned. He should retire; if barely comfortable it will be enough, for he

cannot go from dignity. My heart is on your side of the Atlantic. I know the charms on Long Island, the additional ones of your residence there, and the sweet accordance of *recubans sub tegmine fagi*. Do not think, because I have seen much of the world, and must see more, that I have forgotten America. I could as soon forget you, myself, my God.

"My travels have brought upon me a numerous correspondence, which, added to the employments of my new enterprise, leaves me little leisure. I am alone in every thing, and in most things so, because nobody has been accustomed to think and act in travelling matters as I do. I am sorry Mr. Jarvis will go so soon. To-day is Saturday, and he will call on Tuesday, to receive the things for you, and take leave of me. My time is wholly occupied; and it happens that just at this moment I am the busiest with the African Society. Among other things, I wish to send you a copy of my Swedish portrait at Somerset House. I have one by me, but it is a stupid thing. It was taken by a boy, who is as dumb and deaf as the portrait itself. He is, however, under the patronage of Sir Joshua Reynolds, the English Raphael. The boy was sent to me by a country squire, who accidentally got acquainted with

me at an inn, where I lodged in London, and who has taken a wonderful fancy to me, and begs to hang me up in his hall. This one is still unfinished, and so is the one for the squire. They are mere daubings. Jarvis says our Trumbull is clever, and advises me to get him to copy the Swedish drawing, which is not only a perfect likeness, but a good painting. If I do according to his advice, it cannot be soon; and, indeed, I should not trouble you, or myself, about this shadow of your friend, were I sure of presenting him to you hereafter in substance. I shall not have time to settle my affairs before Jarvis goes, if it is to-morrow, for to-morrow I must be with the African committee.

"Jarvis is this moment going. Adieu.—He will not take the one hundred livres."

It may be well to add here, rather as a matter of curiosity, than for any other purpose, his description of the Siberian articles of clothing, which he sent to Dr. Ledyard by Mr. Jarvis. He was now going to a climate, where he would have no occasion for a dress, suited to the winters of Siberia.

"The dresses I send you," he writes, "are such as I have worn through many a scene, and was glad to get them. The surtout coat is

made of reindeer skin, and edged with the dew-lap of the moose. Perhaps you will wear this yourself in winter. It was made for a riding coat, and I have rode both horses and deer with it. The first cap is of the Siberian red fox; it is a travelling cap, and the form is entirely Tartar. The second cap is Russian, consisting of white ermine, and bordered with blue fox skin; it cost me at Yakutsk twenty-five roubles, which is four guineas and one rouble. The surtout coat seventy roubles; the fox-skin cap six roubles, The gloves are made of the feet of the fox, and lined with the Tartar hare, and cost five roubles. The frock is in form and style truly Tartar. It was presented to me, and came from the borders of the Frozen Ocean, at the mouth of the river Kolyma. It is made of a spotted reindeer calf; the edging is the same as that on the surtout. You will see, on the inside of the skin, a number of spots; these were occasioned by a small insect bred there from the eggs of a species of fly, which together with the vast numbers of musquitos, obliges this charming animal to migrate annually north and south, as the seasons change.

"The boots are made also of reindeer skin, and ornamented with European cloth; the form is Tartar; they cost eight roubles. The

socks for the boots are made of the skin of an old reindeer. They are worn on the inside of the boots, with the hair to the feet, with or without stockings. These were presented to me, and came from the borders of the Frozen Ocean. The cloak, which they are wrapped up in, was made in London. I travelled on foot with it in Denmark, Sweden, Lapland, Finland, and the Lord knows where. I have slept in it, eat in it, drank in it, fought in it, negociated in it: through every scene it has been my constant and hardy servant, from my departure till my return to London. And now to give it an asylum (for I have none), I send it to you. Lay it up; as soon as I can, I will call and lay myself up with it. I have mentioned the prices of the above articles, to give you a notion how dear fur dresses are, even in the remotest parts of the vast dominions of Russia. These clothes were not all that I wore last winter; I wore many others, and froze my nose and ears after all. You have no idea of the excessive cold in those regions."

The Society, in whose service Ledyard was now engaged, had its origin with a few individuals in London, but the number of its members soon increased to about two hundred, among whom were some of the most eminent

men in the kingdom. Their immediate object was to promote discoveries in the interior of Africa, and a fund was raised by a subscription from each member, for the purpose of effecting that object. The society was denominated the *African Association*, and was patronized by the king. A committee was to be annually chosen by ballot, whose duty it was to transact the affairs of the Society, by taking charge of the funds, employing persons to travel, collecting intelligence, and keeping up a correspondence with various parts of Africa. The first committee appointed, and that with which Ledyard made his arrangements, consisted of Lord Rawden, the Bishop of Landaff, Sir Joseph Banks, Mr. Beaufoy, and Mr. Steuart. Among the other members, who joined the Society at the beginning, were Mr. Addington, the Earl of Bute, General Conway, the Duke of Grafton, Edward Gibbon, John Hunter, Dr. Lettsom, the Earl of Moira, the Duke of Northumberland, Lord Sheffield, Benjamin Vaughan, and Mr. Wilberforce. An institution, supported by names of such weight and respectability, would naturally attract public attention, and ensure all the success of which the nature of its designs was susceptible.

For many ages the continent of Africa had

been a neglected portion of the globe, of which the rest of the world had taken little account. The learning, and splendour, and prowess of Egypt were departed; Carthage, with all its glory, had sunk into the dust; the proud monuments of Numidian greatness had been blotted from the face of the earth, and almost from the memory of man. The gloom of this scene was heightened, not more by the ravages of time in destroying what had been, than by the contrasts, which succeeding changes had produced. A semibarbarous population, gathered from the wrecks of fallen nations, enemies to the arts and to the best social interests of man, had gradually spread themselves over the whole northern borders of Africa, and presented a barrier to the hazards of enterprise, no less than to the inroads of civilization. Whatever might be the ardour for discovery and the disregard of danger, nobody cared to penetrate into these regions, where all was uncertainty, and where the chance of success bore no proportion to the perils that must be encountered.

There is no question, that the northern half of Africa was better known to the Romans, at the time of Julius Cæsar, than to the Europeans in the middle of the eighteenth century.

A few scattered names of rivers, towns, and nations, occupied the map of the interior, traced there by a hesitating hand, on the dubious authority of the Nubian geographer, Edrissi, and the Spanish traveller, Leo Africanus. The rhymes of Swift on this subject were not more witty than true:—

"Geographers, in Afric maps,
With savage pictures fill their gaps,
And o'er unhabitable downs
Place elephants for want of towns."

At the beginning of the sixteenth century, Leo penetrated as far as Timbuctoo and the Niger, but so imperfect were his descriptions even of what he saw, that very little geographical knowledge was communicated by them. He was on the banks of the Niger, but it could not be ascertained from his account, whether this river ran to the east or west, nor indeed, whether it existed as a separate stream. In short, down to the time when the African Association was formed, almost the whole of this vast continent, its geography and physical resources, its inhabitants, governments, languages, were a desideratum in the history of nature and of man. It could not be doubted, that many millions of human beings inhabited these

hidden regions. Nor were the character and condition of these people, their institutions and social advancement, mere matters of curiosity; they had a relation to the people of other parts of the globe; and, when discovered and understood, might be turned to the common advantage of the great human family. There are no nations, that may not profit by an intercourse between each other, either by an exchange of products peculiar to each, or by a reciprocal moral influence, or by both.

On these broad and benevolent principles, the society for promoting discoveries in Africa was instituted, and the scheme was worthy of the enlightened philanthropists by whom it was devised. Ledyard's instructions were few, simple and direct. He was to repair first to Egypt, travel thence across the continent, make such observations as he could, and report the results to the Association. Everything was left to his discretion. His past experience, the extraordinary energy of his character, his disinterestedness, and the enthusiasm with which he engaged in the present undertaking, were all such as to ensure the confidence of his employers, and inspire them with sanguine hopes.

As for himself, at no period of his life had he

reflected with so much satisfaction on his condition, or his prospects. Heretofore he had always been alone, oppressed with poverty, and contending with an adverse fate. But now he was free from want, patronized by the first men in Great Britain, and engaged at their solicitation, and under their auspices, in an enterprise, fraught, it is true, with many dangers, but promising the glory of which he had ever been ambitious, and opening to him a field of adventure, which his imagination had pictured to him as the first to be chosen, after he had discharged what he deemed a paramount duty, in exploring the unknown parts of the continent to which he owed his birth. When he was departing from London for Egypt, he may be said to have been, for the first time in his life, at the summit of his wishes. All previous cares, defeats, and disasters appear to have been forgotten, or swallowed up in the deep interests of the present, and the cherished anticipations of the future. A letter written to his mother at this time will indicate the tone of his spirits.

"Truly is it written, that the ways of God are past finding out, and his decrees unsearchable. Is the Lord thus great? So also is he good. I am an instance of it. I have trampled

the world under my feet, laughed at fear, and derided danger. Through millions of fierce savages, over parching deserts, the freezing north, the everlasting ice, and stormy seas, have I passed without harm. How good is my God! What rich subjects have I for praise, love, and adoration!

"I am but just returned to England from my travels of two years, and am going away into Africa to examine that continent. I expect to be absent three years. I shall be in Egypt as soon as I can get there, and after that go into unknown parts. I have full and perfect health. Remember me to my brothers and sisters. Desire them to remember me, for, if Heaven permits, I shall see them again. I pray God to bless and comfort you all. Farewell."

At length the preparations for his departure were completed. He had become well acquainted with the views of the committee; and a sufficient amount of money had been raised, by the subscriptions, to provide for the expenses of his journey to Egypt, and to purchase such articles of merchandise as might be found necessary to enable him to assume the character of a trader in a caravan to the interior, or for travelling in any other manner, which he should deem most expedient when on the spot. The

last letter he wrote to America was a short one, dated at London, on the twenty-ninth of June.

"I suppose that my letter and curiosities, sent by Mr. Jarvis, are now half way over the Atlantic. Here you have a little portrait, which I leave to the care of his brother in town. Enclosed with it is a poor portrait of me, taken by the dumb boy mentioned in my other letter. If it were any thing like painting, I would desire you to keep it. As it is, I beg you will send it to my mother. She will be as fond of it as if done by Guido. I would have sent it framed, if the opportunity would have permitted. To-morrow morning I set out for France. Adieu."

Accordingly he left London on the thirtieth of June. Mr. Beaufoy speaks of the interview he had with him, just as he was setting off, and adds these affecting remarks, as given in Ledyard's own words.

"'I am accustomed,' said he, in our last conversation, ('twas on the morning of his departure for Africa), 'I am accustomed to hardships. I have known both hunger and nakedness to the utmost extremity of human suffering. I have known what it is to have food given me as charity to a madman; and I have

at times been obliged to shelter myself under the miseries of that character, to avoid a heavier calamity. My distresses have been greater than I have ever owned, or ever will own, to any man. Such evils are terrible to bear; but they never yet had power to turn me from my purpose. If I live, I will faithfully perform, in its utmost extent, my engagement to the society; and if I perish in the attempt, my honour will still be safe, for death cancels all bonds.' "

In Paris he met with Mr. Jefferson, Lafayette, and several others of his old friends, whom he had left there three years before, and towards whom he entertained sentiments of the warmest gratitude. He continued at Paris seven or eight days, and then proceeded to Marseilles, where he took ship for Alexandria. From this place he wrote to Mr. Jefferson the following letter.

"As I shall go to Cairo in a few days, from whence it may be difficult for me to write to you, I do it here, though unprepared. I am in good health and spirits, and the prospects before me are flattering. This intelligence, with my wishes for your happiness and an eternal remembrance of your goodness to me, must form the only part of my letter of any

consequence; except that I desire to be remembered to the Marquis de la Fayette, his lady, Mr. Short, and other friends. Deducting the week I staid at Paris, and two days at Marseilles, I was only thirty-four days from London to this place.

"I am sorry to inform you, that I regret having visited the gentleman you mentioned, and of having made use of your name. I shall ever think, though he was extremely polite, that he rather strove to prevent my embarking at Marseilles, than to facilitate it; for, by bandying me about among the members of the Chamber of Commerce, he had nearly, and very nearly, lost me my passage; and in the last ship from Marseilles for the season. He knew better; he knew that the Chamber of Commerce had no business with me; and, besides, I only asked him if he could, without trouble, address me to the captain of a ship bound to Alexandria; nothing more.

"Alexandria at large presents a scene more wretched than I have witnessed. Poverty, rapine, murder, tumult, blind bigotry, cruel persecution, pestilence! A small town built on the ruins of antiquity, as remarkable for its miserable architecture, as I suppose the place once was for its good and great works of that

kind. Pompey's Pillar and Cleopatra's Obelisk are now almost the only remains of remote antiquity. They are both, and particularly the former, noble objects to contemplate, and are certainly more captivating from the contrast of the deserts and forlorn prospects around them. No man, of whatever turn of mind, can see the whole, without retiring from the scene with a *Sic transit gloria mundi.*"

Having passed ten days only at Alexandria, he pursued his journey up the Nile to Cairo, where he arrived on the nineteenth of August. Here again he wrote to Mr. Jefferson.

"I sent you a short letter from Alexandria. I begin this without knowing where I shall close it, or when I shall send it, or, indeed, whether I shall ever send it. But I will have it ready, in case an opportunity shall offer. Having been in Cairo only four days, I have not seen much of particular interest for you; and, indeed, you will not expect much of this kind from me. My business is in another quarter, and the information I seek totally new. Any thing from this place would not be so.

"At all events, I shall never want a subject, when it is to you I write. I shall never think my letter an indifferent one, when it contains

the declaration of my gratitude and my affection for you; and this, notwithstanding you thought hard of me for being employed by an English Association, which hurt me much while I was at Paris. You know your own heart, and if my suspicions are groundless, forgive them, since they proceed from the jealousy I have, not to lose the regard you have in times past been pleased to honour me with. You are not obliged to esteem me, but I am obliged to esteem you, or to take leave of my senses, and confront the opinions of the greatest and best characters I know. If I cannot, therefore, address myself to you as a man you regard, I must do it as one that regards you for your own sake, and for the sake of my country, which has set me the example.

"I made my tour from Alexandria by water, and entered the Nile by the western branch of the mouths of the river. I was five days coming to Cairo, but this passage is generally made in four, and sometimes in three days. You have heard and read much of the Nile, and so had I, but when I saw it, I could not conceive it to be the same. What eyes do travellers see with? Are they fools or rogues? For Heaven's sake, hear the plain truth about it. First, in regard to its size. Obvious com-

parisons in such cases are good. Do you know the river Connecticut? Of all the rivers I have seen, it most resembles that in size. It is a little wider, and may on that account better compare with the Thames. This is the mighty, the sovereign of rivers, the vast Nile, that has been metamorphosed into one of the wonders of the world. Let me be careful how I read, and above all how I read ancient history. You have heard and read, too, much of its inundations. If the thousands of large and small canals from it, and the thousands of men and machines employed to transfer by artificial means the water of the Nile to the meadows on its banks, if this be the inundation that is meant, it is true; any other is false. It is not an inundating river. I came up the river from the fifteenth to the twentieth of August, and about the thirtieth the water will be at the height of the freshet. When I left the river, its banks were four, five, and six feet, above the water, and here in town I am told they expect the Nile to be only one or two feet higher at the most. This is a proof, if any were wanted, that the river does not overflow its banks.

"I saw the pyramids as I passed up the river, but they were four or five leagues off. It is warm weather here at present, and were

it not for the north winds, that cool themselves in their passage over the Mediterranean, and blow upon us, we should be in a sad situation. As it is, I think I have felt it hotter at Philadelphia in the same month. The city of Cairo is about half as large in size as Paris, and is said to contain seven hundred thousand inhabitants. You will therefore anticipate the fact of its narrow streets and high houses. In this number are contained one hundred thousand Copts, or descendants of the ancient Egyptians. There are likewise Christians, and those of different sects from Jerusalem, Damascus, Aleppo, and other parts of Syria.

"With regard to my journey, I can only tell you with any certainty, that I shall be able to pass as far as the western boundaries of what is called Turkish Nubia to the town of Sennaar. I expect to get there with some surety. Beyond that all is dark before me. My wishes and designs are to pass in that parallel across the continent. I will write from Sennaar if I can.

"You know the disturbances in this unhappy country, and the nature of them. The Beys, revolted from the Bashaw, have possession of Upper Egypt, and are now encamped with an army, pitiful enough indeed, about three miles

south of Cairo. They say to the Bashaw, 'Come out of your city and fight us;' and the Bashaw says, 'Come out of your entrenchments and fight me.' You know this revolt is a stroke in Russian politics. Nothing merits more the whole force of burlesque, than both the poetic and prosaic legends of this country. Sweet are the songs of Egypt on paper. Who is not ravished with gums, balms, dates, figs, pomegranates, circassia, and sycamores, without recollecting that amidst these are dust, hot and fainting winds, bugs, musquitoes, spiders, flies, leprosy, fevers, and almost universal blindness? I am in perfect health. Adieu for the present, and believe me to be, with all possible esteem and regard, your sincere friend."

CHAPTER XIV.

Remarks on the appearance of the country in passing up the Nile.—Condition of a Christian at Cairo.—Interview with the Aga.—Miscellaneous observations on the customs of the Arabs, and other races of people found in Cairo.—Information respecting the interior of Africa.—Visit to the caravans and slave markets.—The traveller's reflections on his condition and prospects.—His last letter to Mr. Jefferson.—Joins a caravan, and prepares to depart for Sennaar.—He is taken suddenly ill.—His death.—Account of his person and character.

As he was furnished with letters of recommendation to the British Consul at Cairo, he found little difficulty in procuring such accommodations as he desired, and such information as enabled him to direct his attention immediately to the great object of his mission. His intention was to join a caravan, bound to the interior, and to continue with it to the end of its route. Beyond this he must be guided by circumstances, which could not be foreseen, and concerning which no calculation was to be made. He adopted a dress suited to the character he was to assume, and began in earnest to study the manners of the people around him, and particularly of the traders in the caravans, which were then at Cairo. Three months were passed in this occupation. He kept a journal of

whatever he deemed most worthy of record, which was afterwards transmitted to the African Association. Such parts of the journal, as are contained in the proceedings of that body, will here be added. They bear the peculiar marks of the author's mind, his habits of observation, his boldness of thought and opinion, and his quick perception of resemblance and contrast in the various races of men.

"*August* 14th.—I left Alexandria at midnight, with a pleasant breeze north; and was, at sunrise next morning, at the mouth of the Nile, which has a bar of sand across it, and soundings as irregular as the sea, which is raised upon it by the contentions of counter currents and winds.

"The view in sailing up the Nile is very confined, unless from the top of the mast, or some other eminence, and then it is an unbounded plain of excellent land, miserably cultivated, and yet interspersed with a great number of villages, both on its banks, and as far along the meadows as one can see in any direction. The river is also filled with boats passing and repassing—boats all of one kind, and navigated in one manner; nearly also of one size, the largest carrying ten or fifteen tons. On board of these boats are seen onions, water-melons,

dates, sometimes a horse, a camel (which lies down in the boat), sheep, goats, dogs, men, and women. Towards evening and morning they have music.

"Whenever we stopped at a village, I used to walk into it with my conductor, who, being a Musselman, and a descendant from Mahomet, wore a green turban, and was therefore respected, and I was sure of safety; but, in truth, dressed as I was in a common Turkish habit, I believe I should have walked as safely without him. I saw no propensity among the inhabitants to incivility. The villages are most miserable assemblages of poor little mud huts, flung very close together without any kind of order, full of dust, lice, fleas, bugs, flies, and all the curses of Moses; people poorly clad, the youths naked; in such respects, they rank infinitely below any savages I ever saw.

"The common people wear nothing but a shirt and drawers, and they are always blue. Green is the royal, or holy colour; none but the descendants of Mahomet, if I am rightly informed, being permitted to wear it.

"*August* 19th.—From the little town where we landed, the distance to Cairo is about a mile and a half, which we rode on asses; for the ass in this country is the Christian's horse,

as he is allowed no other animal to ride upon. Indeed I find the situation of a Christian, or, what they more commonly call here, a Frank, to be very, very humiliating, ignominious, and distressing. No one, by a combination of any causes, can reason down to such effects as experience teaches us do exist here; it being impossible to conceive, that the enmity I have alluded to could exist between men; or, in fact, that the same species of beings, from any causes whatever, should ever think and act so differently as the Egyptians and the English do.

"I arrived at Cairo early in the morning, on the nineteenth of August, and went to the house of the Venetian Consul, Mr. Rosetti, chargé d'affaires for the English Consul here. After dinner, not being able to find any other lodging, and receiving no very pressing invitation from Mr. Rosetti, to lodge with him, I went to a convent. This convent consists of missionaries, sent by the Pope to propagate the Christian faith, or at least to give shelter to Christians. The Christians here are principally from Damascus; the convent is governed by the order of Recollets; a number of English, as well as other European travellers, have lodged there.

"*August* 26th.—This day I was introduced

by Rosetti to the Aga Mahommed, the confidential minister of Ismael, the most powerful of the four ruling Beys. He gave me his hand to kiss, and with it the promise of letters, protection, and support, through Turkish Nubia, and also to some chiefs far inland. In a subsequent conversation, he told me I should see in my travels a people, who had power to transmute themselves into the forms of different animals. He asked me what I thought of the affair. I did not like to render the ignorance, simplicity, and credulity of the Turk apparent. I told him, that it formed a part of the character of all savages to be great necromancers; but that I had never before heard of any so great, as those which he had done me the honour to describe; that it had rendered me more anxious to be on my voyage, and if I passed among them, I would, in the letter I promised to write to him, give him a more particular account of them, than he had hitherto had. He asked me how I could travel, without the language of the people where I should pass? I told him, with vocabularies. I might as well have read to him a page of Newton's Principia. He returned to his fables again. Is it not curious, that the Egyptians (for I speak of the natives of the country, as well as of him, when

I make the observation) are still such dupes to the arts of sorcery? Was it the same people who built the pyramids?

"I cannot understand that the Turks have a better opinion of our mental powers, than we have of theirs; but they say of us, that we are '*a people who carry our minds on our fingers' ends;*' meaning, that we put them in exercise constantly, and render them subservient to all manner of purposes, and with celerity, despatch, and ease, do what we do.

"I suspect the Copts to have been the origin of the Negro race; the nose and lips correspond with those of the Negro. The hair, whenever I can see it among the people here (the Copts), is curled; not close, like the Negroes, but like the Mulattoes. I observe a greater variety of colour among the human species here, than in any other country; and a greater variety of feature, than in any other country not possessing a greater degree of civilization. I have seen an Abyssinian woman, and a Bengal man; the colour is the same in both; so are their features and persons.

"I have seen a small mummy; it has what I call wampum-work on it. It appears as common here as among the Tartars. Tattooing is as prevalent among the Arabs of this place,

as among the South Sea Islanders. It is a little curious, that the women here are more generally, than in any other part of the world, tattooed on the chin, with perpendicular lines descending from the under lip to the chin, like the women on the Northwest Coast of America. It is also a custom here to stain the nails red, like the Cochin Chinese, and the northern Tartars. The mask, or veil, that the women here wear, resembles exactly that worn by the priests at Otaheite, and those seen at the Sandwich Islands.

"I have not yet seen the Arabs make use of a tool, like our axe or hatchet; but what they use for such purposes, as we do our hatchet and axe, is in the form of an adze, and is a form we found most agreeable to the South Sea islanders. I see no instance of a tool formed designedly for the use of the right or left hand particularly, as the *cotogon* is among the Yakuti Tartars.

"There is certainly a very remarkable affinity between the Russian and Greek dress. The fillet round the temples of the Greek and Russian women, is a circumstance in dress, that perhaps would strike nobody as it does me; and so of the wampum-work too, which is also found among them both. They spin here with

the distaff and spindle only, like the French peasantry, and others in Europe; and the common Arab loom is upon our principle, though rude. I saw to-day an Arab woman white, like the white Indians in the South Sea islands, and at the Isthmus of Darien. These kind of people all look alike. Among the Greek women here, I find the identical Archangel headdress.

"Their music is instrumental, consisting of a drum and pipe, both which resemble those two instruments in the South Seas. The drum is exactly like the Otaheite drum; the pipe is made of cane, and consists of a long and short tube joined: the music resembles very much the bagpipe, and is pleasant. All their music is concluded, if not accompanied, by the clapping of hands. I think it singular that the women here make a noise with their mouths like frogs, and that this frog music is always made at weddings, and, I believe, on all other occasions of merriment where there are women.

"It is remarkable that the dogs here are of just the same species found among the Otaheitans. It is also remarkable, that in one village I saw exactly the same machines used for diversion as in Russia. I forget the Russian name for it. It is a large kind of wheel, on the extre-

mities of which there are suspended seats, in which people are whirled round over and under each other.

"The women dress their hair behind, exactly in the same manner in which the women of the Kalmuk Tartars dress theirs.

"In the history of the kingdom of Benin, in Guinea, the chiefs are called *Aree Roee*, or *street kings*. Among the islands in the South Sea, Otaheite, and others, they call the chiefs *Arees*, and the great chiefs *Aree le Hoi*. I think this curious; and so I do, that it is a custom of the Arabs to spread a blanket when they would invite any one to eat or rest with them. The American Indians spread the beaver skins on such occasions. The Arabs of the deserts, like the Tartars, have an invincible attachment to liberty: no arts will reconcile them to any other life, or form of government, however modified. This is a character given me here of the Arabs. It is singular that the Arab language has no word for *liberty*, although it has for *slaves*. The Arabs, like the New Zealanders, engage with a long, strong spear.

"I have made the best inquiries I have been able, since I have been here, of the nature of the country before me; of Sennaar, Darfoor, Wangara, of Nubia, Abyssinia, of those named,

or unknown by name. I should have been happy to have sent you better information of those places than I am yet able to do. It will appear very singular to you, in England, that we, in Egypt, are so ignorant of countries which we annually visit. The Egyptians know as little of geography as the generality of the French; and, like them, sing, dance, and traffic without it.

"I have the best assurances of a certain and safe conduct by the return of the caravan that is arrived from Sennaar; and Mr. Rosetti tells me, that the letters I shall have from the Aga here, will ensure me of being conveyed, from hand to hand, to my journey's end. The Mahometans in Africa are what the Russians are in Siberia, a trading, enterprising, superstitious, warlike set of vagabonds, and wherever they are set upon going, they will, and do go; but they neither can nor do make voyages merely commercial, or merely religious, across Africa; and where we do not find them in commerce, we find them not at all. They cannot, however vehemently pushed on by religion, afford to cross the continent without trading by the way.

"*October* 14th.—I went to-day to the market-place, where they vend the black slaves that

come from towards the interior parts of Africa. There were two hundred of them together, dressed and ornamented as in their country. The appearance of a savage in every region is almost the same. There were very few men among them: this indicates that they are prisoners of war. They have a great many beads and other ornaments about them that are from the East. I was told by one of them that they came from the west of Sennaar, fifty-five days' journey, which may be about four or five hundred miles. A Negro chief said, the Nile had its source in his country. In general, they had their hair plaited in a great number of small detached plaits, none exceeding in length six or eight inches: the hair was filled with grease and dirt, purposely daubed on.

"*October* 16th.—I have renewed my visit to-day, and passed it more agreeably than yesterday; for yesterday I was rudely treated. The Franks are prohibited to purchase slaves, and therefore the Turks do not like to see them in the market. Mr. Rosetti favoured me with one of his running chargé d'affaires to accompany me; but having observed yesterday, among the ornaments of the Negroes, a variety of beads, and wanting to know from what country they came, I requested Mr. Rosetti, previously to my second visit, to show me

from his store samples of Venetian beads. He showed me samples of fifteen hundred different kinds: after this I set out.

"The name of the country these savages come from, is Darfoor, and is well known on account of the slave trade, as well as of that in gum and elephants' teeth. The appearance of these Negroes declares them to be a people in as savage a state as any people can be; but not of so savage a temper, or of that species of countenance, that indicates savage intelligence. They appear a harmless, wild people; but they are mostly young women.

"The beads they are ornamented with are Venetian; and they have some Venetian brass medals, which the Venetians make for trade. The beads are worked wampum-wise. I know not where they got the marine shells they worked among their beads, nor how they could have seen white men. I asked them if they would use me well in their country, if I should visit it? They said yes, and added, that they should make a king of me, and treat me with all the delicacies of their country. Like the Egyptian women, and like most other savages, they stick on ornaments wherever they can, and wear, like them, a great ring in the nose, either from the cartilage, or from the side.

they also rub on some black kind of paint round the eyes, like the Egyptian women. They are a sizeable, well-formed people, quite black, with what, I believe, we call the true Guinea face, and with curled short hair; but not more curled or shorter than I have seen it among the Egyptians; but, in general, these savages plait it in tassels plastered with clay or paint. Among some of them the hair is a foot long, and curled, resembling exactly one of our mops. The prevailing colour, where it can be seen, is a black and red mixed. I think it would make any hair curl, even uncle Toby's wig, to be plaited and plastered as this is. This caravan, which I call the Darfoor caravan, is not very rich. The Sennaar is the rich caravan.

"*October* 19th.—I went yesterday to see if more of the Darfoor caravan had arrived; but they were not. I wonder why travellers to Cairo have not visited these slave markets, and conversed with the Jelabs, or travelling merchants of these caravans; both are certainly sources of great information. The eighth part of the money expended on other accounts, might here answer some good solid purpose. For my part, I have not expended a crown, and I have a better idea of the people of Africa, of its trade, of the position of places, the nature of

the country, and manner of travelling, than ever I had by any other means; and, I believe, better than any other means would afford me.

"*October* 25th.—I have been again to the slave market; but neither the Jelabs (a name which in this country is given to all travelling merchants), nor the slaves are yet arrived in town; they will be here to-morrow. I met two or three in the street, and one with a shield and spear. I have understood to day, that the king of Sennaar is himself a merchant, and concerned in the Sennaar caravans. The merchant here, who contracts to convey me to Sennaar, is Procurer at Cairo to the King of Sennaar; this is a good circumstance, and one I knew not of till to-day. Mr. Rosetti informed me of it. He informed me also, that this year the importation of negro slaves into Egypt will amount to twenty thousand. The caravans from the interior countries of Africa do not arrive here uniformly every year; they are sometimes absent two or three years.

"Among a dozen of Sennaar slaves, I saw three personable men of a good bright olive colour, of vivacious and intelligent countenances; but they had all three (which first attracted my notice) heads uncommonly formed; the forehead was the narrowest, the longest, and

most protuberant I ever saw. Many of these slaves speak a few words of the Arab language; but whether they learned them before or since their captivity I cannot tell.

"A caravan goes from here to Fezzan, which they call a journey of fifty days; and from Fezzan to Tombuctou, which they call a journey of ninety days. The caravans travel about twenty miles a day, which makes the distance on the road from here to Fezzan, one thousand miles; and from Fezzan to Tombuctou, one thousand eight hundred miles. From here to Sennaar is reckoned six hundred miles. I have been waiting several days to have an interview with the Jelabs, who go from hence to Sennaar. I am told that they carry in general, trinkets; but among other things soap, antimony, red linen, razors, scissars, mirrors, beads; and, as far as I can yet learn, they bring from Sennaar elephants' teeth, the gum called here gum Sennaar, camels, ostrich feathers, and slaves.

"Wangara is talked of here as a place producing much gold, and as a kingdom; all accounts, and there are many, agree in this. The King of Wangara (whom I hope to see in about three months after leaving this) is said to dispose of just what quantity he pleases of his gold; some-

times a great deal, and sometimes little or none; and this, it is said, he does to prevent strangers knowing how rich he is, and that he may live in peace."

In a letter to the Association are expressed his undiminished zeal in their cause, the high motives which impelled him onward, and his utter indifference to every thing but the success of his undertaking.

"Money! it is a vile slave! I have at present an economy of a more exalted kind to observe. I have the eyes of some of the first men of the first kingdom on earth turned upon me. I am engaged by those very men, in the most important object that any private individual can be engaged in. I have their approbation to acquire or to lose; and their esteem, also, which I prize beyond every thing, except the independent idea of serving mankind. Should rashness or desperation carry me through, whatever fame the vain and injudicious might bestow, I should not accept of it; it is the good and great I look to; fame bestowed by them is altogether different, and is closely allied to a 'Well done' from God; but rashness will not be likely to carry me through, any more than timid caution. To find the necessary medium of conduct, to vary and apply it to contingen-

cies, is the economy I allude to; and if I succeed by such means, men of sense in any succeeding epoch will not blush to follow me, and perfect those discoveries, which I have only abilities to trace out roughly, or a disposition to attempt. A Turkish sofa has no charms for me: if it had, I could soon obtain one here. Believe me, a single 'Well done' from your Association has more worth in it to me, than all the trappings of the East; and what is still more precious, is, the pleasure I have in the justification of my own conduct at the tribunal of my own heart."

On the fifteenth of November he again wrote to Mr. Jefferson as follows.

"This is my third letter to you from Egypt. I should certainly write to the Marquis de la Fayette, if I knew where to find him. I speak of him often among the French at Cairo. But if our news here, with respect to the affairs of France be authentic, he would hardly find time to read my letter, if his active spirit is employed in the conflict in proportion to its powers. It is possible, however, that my compliments may reach him, and I desire it may be through your means. Tell him that I love him, and that the French patriots in Cairo call on the name of Suffrein and La Fayette, the one for point-

blank honesty, and the other as the soldier and the courtier. The old veteran in finance and civil economy, Mr. Necker, is welcomed to the helm.

"I have now been in Cairo three months, and it is within a few days only, that I have had any certainty of being able to proceed in the prosecution of my voyage. The difficulties that have attended me, have occupied me day and night. I should otherwise not only have written to you oftener, but should have given you some little history of what I have heard and seen. My excuse now is, that I am doing up my baggage for my journey, and most curious baggage it is. I shall leave Cairo in two or three days.

"Perhaps I should not have pleased you, if I had written much in detail. I think I know your taste for ancient history; it does not comport with what experience teaches me. The enthusiastic avidity with which you search for treasures in Egypt, and I suppose all over with the East, ought in justice to the world, and your own generous propensities, to be modified, corrected, and abated. I should have written you the truth. It is disagreeable to hear it, when habit has accustomed one to falsehood. You have the travels of Savary in this country.

Burn them. Without entering into a discussion that would be too long for a letter, I cannot tell you why I think most historians have written more to satisfy themselves, than to benefit others. I am certainly very angry with those, who have written of the countries where I have travelled, and of this particularly. They have all more or less deceived me. In some cases, perhaps, it is difficult to determine which does the most mischief, the self-love of the historian or the curiosity of the reader; but both together have led us into errors, that it is now too late to rectify. You will think my head is turned to write you such a letter from Egypt, but the reason is, I do not intend it shall be turned.

"I have passed my time disagreeably here. Religion does more mischief in Egypt than all other things, and here it has always done more than in most other places. The humiliating situation of a Frank would be insupportable to me, except for my voyage. It is a shame to the sons of Europe, that they should suffer such arrogance at the hands of a banditti of ignorant fanatics. I assure myself, that even your curiosity and love of antiquity would not detain you in Egypt three months.

"From Cairo I am to travel south-west, about three hundred leagues, to a black king. Then my present conductors will leave me to my fate. Beyond, I suppose I shall go alone. I expect to cut the continent across between the parallels of twelve and twenty degrees of north latitude. If possible, I shall write you from the kingdom of this black gentleman. If not, do not forget me in the interval of time, which may pass during my voyage from thence to Europe, and as likely to France as anywhere. I shall not forget you; indeed, it will be a consolation to think of you in my last moments. Be happy."

This is the last letter, which Ledyard is known to have written, either to Mr. Jefferson, or to any other person. He wrote to the secretary of the Association, probably by the same conveyance, stating that, after much vexatious delay, all things were at last ready for his departure, and that his next communication might be expected from Sennaar. The Aga had given him letters of recommendation, his passage was engaged, the terms settled, and the day fixed, on which the caravan was to leave Cairo. He wrote in good spirits and apparent health, and the confidence of the As-

sociation had never been more firm, nor their hopes more sanguine, than at this juncture. Their extreme disappointment may well be imagined, therefore, when the next letters from Egypt brought the melancholy intelligence of his death.

During his residence at Cairo, his pursuits had made it necessary for him to be much exposed to the heat of the sun, and to other deleterious influences of the climate, at the most unfavourable season of the year. The consequence was an attack of a bilious complaint, which he thought to remove by the common remedy of vitriolic acid. Whether this was administered by himself, or by some other person, is not related, but the quantity taken was so great, as to produce violent and burning pains, that threatened to be fatal, unless immediate relief could be procured. This was attempted by a powerful dose of tartar emetic. But all was in vain. The best medical skill in Cairo was called to his aid without effect, and he closed his life of vicissitude and toil, at the moment when he imagined his severest cares were over, and the prospects before him were more flattering, than they had been at any former period. He was decently interred, and

all suitable respect was paid to his obsequies by such friends, as he had found among the European residents in the capital of Egypt.

The precise day of his death is not known, but the event is supposed to have happened towards the end of November, 1788. He was then in the thirty-eighth year of his age.

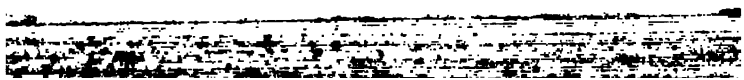
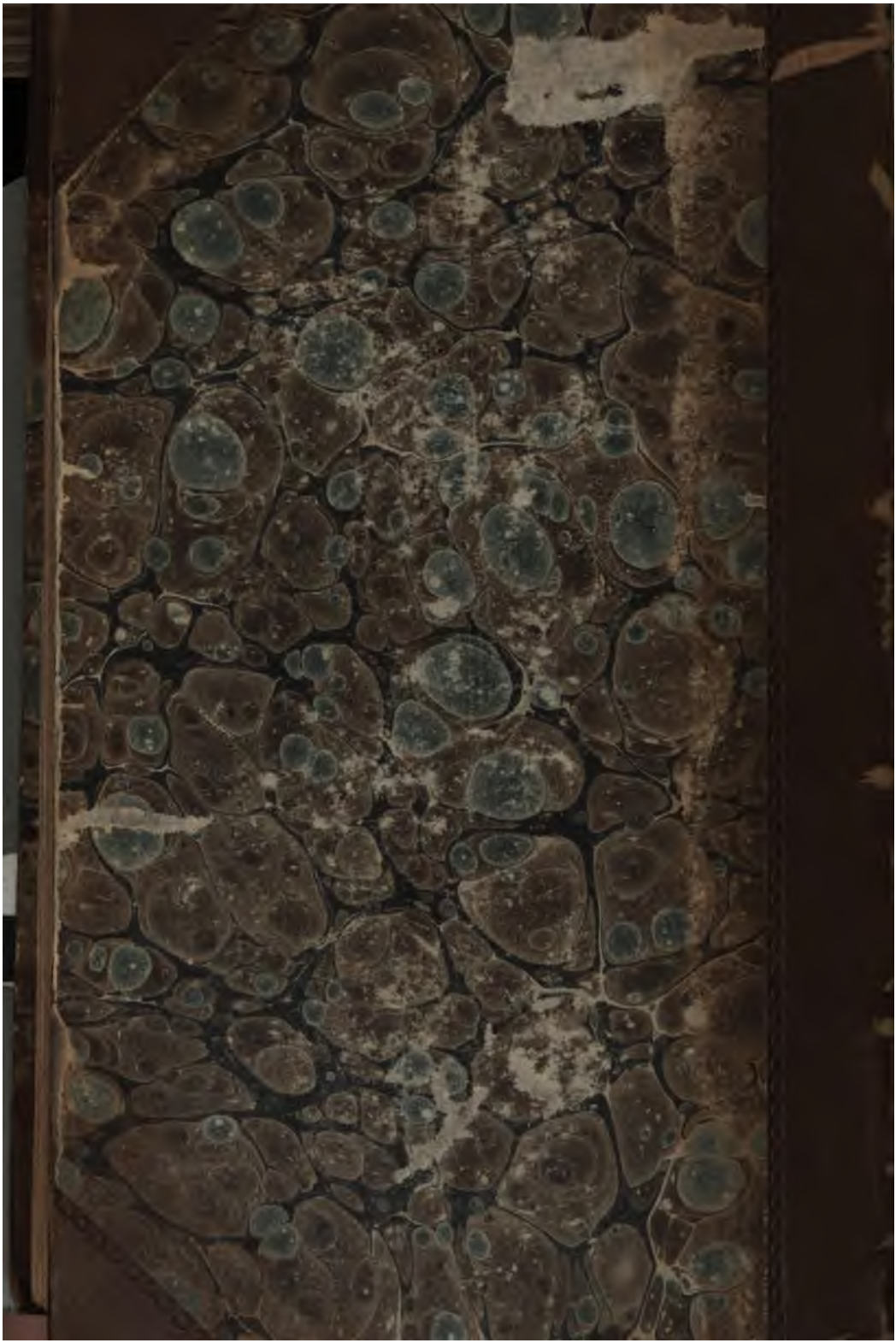
So much has been drawn from the traveller's own writings in the preceding narrative, that nothing can be added to make the reader better acquainted with the constitution of his mind, the qualities of his heart, or the characteristics of his genius. Mr. Beaufoy's description of him is short, but discriminating; and the more worthy of regard, as having been founded on personal knowledge.

"To those who have never seen Mr. Ledyard, it may not, perhaps, be uninteresting to know, that his person, though scarcely exceeding the middle size, was remarkably expressive of activity and strength; and that his manners, though unpolished, were neither uncivil nor unpleasing. Little attentive to difference of rank, he seemed to consider all men as his equals, and as such he respected them. His genius, though uncultivated and irregular, was original and comprehensive. Ardent in his

wishes, yet calm in his deliberations; daring in his purposes, but guarded in his measures; impatient of controul, yet capable of strong endurance; adventurous beyond the conception of ordinary men, yet wary and considerate, and attentive to all precautions, he appeared to be formed by Nature for achievements of hardihood and peril."

His letters afford convincing proofs of his kind and amiable disposition, gratitude to his benefactors, humanity, and disinterestedness. This last virtue, indeed, he practised to an excess. No man ever acted with less regard to self, or on a broader scale of philanthropy and general good. That he finally accomplished little, compared with the magnitude of his designs, was his misfortune, but not his fault. Had he been less eccentric, however, in some of his peculiarities, more attentive to his immediate interests, more regardful of the force of circumstances, it is possible that his efforts would have been rewarded with better success. The acts of his life demand notice less on account of their results, than of the spirit with which they were performed, and the uncommon traits of character which prompted to their execution. Such instances of decision,

energy, perseverance, fortitude, and enterprise, have rarely been witnessed in the same individual; and, in the exercise of these high attributes of mind, his example cannot be too much admired or imitated.

THE END.

SHACKELL AND BAYLIS, JOHNSON'S-COURT.